INDIRA GANDHI

TRIBUTES



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Publisher's Note

The Publications Division is bringing out three more volumes of the selected speeches of Smt. Indira Gandhi covering the period from 1972. This, however, is a humble tribute to her memory, drawn from various possible sources, including AIR, Doordarshan and newspapers. The collection is not comprehensive.

उपह्वरे गिरीणां संगमे च नदीनाम्।
धिया विप्रो अजायत।

सामवेद :अ.2/द.4/म.9.

By the side of mountainous highlands and at the confluences of the rivers, the knowledge begets the superb.

Samaveda

Contents

I

Nation's Homage

"Indira Gandhi is no more but her soul lives. India is immortal. The spirit of India is immortal."

—Rajiv Gandhi

The brutal assassination of India's great leader and beloved Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, on October 31, 1984 has plunged the entire nation into deep anguish and profound sorrow. Indira Gandhi, like her illustrious father, Jawaharlal Nehru, belonged not only to the people of India but to all humankind. The world has lost an outstanding statesman.

Born at Allahabad on November 19, 1917, Indira Gandhi was influenced in her childhood by Mahatma Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru and other great leaders of the Indian freedom movement. From her early years she was active in the national liberation struggle. During the 1930 movement, she formed the 'Vanar Sena', a children's brigade to help freedom fighters.

In the late twenties, she had her schooling in Europe, where her mother Kamala Nehru spent some time for medical treatment and later in Pune and Bombay. In 1934, she enrolled in Rabindranath Tagore's Visva-Bharati, but had to leave after a few months to accompany her ailing mother to Europe. Kamala Nehru passed away at Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1936.

From the Gazette notification of the Government of India

The following year Indira Gandhi went to Somerville College, Oxford University.

Jawaharlal Nehru's correspondence with her from jail was the formative intellectual influence in her life. His letters, later published as **Letters from a Father to a Daughter** and **Glimpses of World History**, stimulated her curiosity and helped mould a questioning and questing spirit, heir to the riches of world civilization, but firmly rooted in Indian culture.

She became a member of the Indian National Congress in 1938. Soon after her return to India in March 1941, she plunged into political activity. On March 26, 1942, she married Feroze Gandhi, who was himself a valiant freedom fighter and known to the family for many years. She attended the session of the All India Congress Committee in August 1942 which adopted the famous 'Quit India' resolution. Soon thereafter she was arrested and imprisoned until her release in May 1943. In August 1944, her first son Rajiv was born. Her second son Sanjay was born in December 1946.

Her public activity entered a new phase with India's independence in 1947. She took over the responsibility of running the Prime Minister's House. Besides, she was deeply involved in social and child welfare work. The Congress, which had been her political home ever since her childhood, soon drew her into leading political roles, first as member of the Congress Working Committee in 1955 and later as member of the Central Parliamentary Board in 1958. In 1959, she was elected President of the Indian National Congress. She oriented Congress thinking and action towards basic issues confronting Indian society and enthused the younger generation in the task of nation-building.

In September 1960, Feroze Gandhi passed away.

When Jawaharlal Nehru died in May 1964, Indira Gandhi was persuaded by Lal Bahadur Shastri to join his Cabinet as Minister of Information and Broadcasting. On the outbreak of widespread language riots in Tamil Nadu in 1965, Indira Gandhi rushed to the State and by her tact, understanding and statesmanship assuaged the feelings of the people and brought the situation under control.

On January 19, 1966, after the death of Lal Bahadur Shastri, she was elected leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party and sworn in as Prime Minister on January 24, 1966. She led the nation in that capacity until March 1977. Having steered her party to success in the general election of 1967, she undertook a series of moves in the Congress in the direction of radical social and economic policies. Her fight against the **status quo** and vested interests produced sharp ideological conflicts leading to the Congress split of 1969. The overwhelming majority of Congressmen and women rallied round her. In the general election of

1971 she returned to power with a decisive majority—a clear vindication of people's approval of her decisions.

In June 1975, she was compelled to declare an internal emergency to meet the threat of subversion of constituted authority. Early in 1977, she called for elections to the Lok Sabha in which the Congress Party was defeated. During 1977-80, when she was out of power, people witnessed her indomitable courage in the face of systematic campaign of persecution and vilification. No effort was spared to defame her and her family. Numerous cases were launched against her on the flimsiest of grounds. She was arrested and kept in jail on charges that did not stand up to judicial scrutiny. Although elected to the Lok Sabha in a by-election she was deprived of her seat in utter disregard of the popular verdict. She faced all this with stoic heroism and continued to champion the cause of the downtrodden and the oppressed. Wherever she went during this period, hundreds of thousands of people gathered to demonstrate their respect and affection for her and their confidence in her leadership. In the general election held in January 1980, the people recalled her to power with a landslide majority.

Earlier in 1978 she had to face another split in her party because of her steadfast adherence to the basic principles and pro-people ideology of the Congress.

In the eventful years of Indira Gandhi's leadership, Indian society underwent profound changes. While maintaining continuity of the basic strategies and policies of the Nehru period, she transformed the structure of politics by placing the issue of poverty in the forefront of national debate. Her commitment to a just social order was manifested in a series of historic measures beginning with the nationalisation of banks and the abolition of privy purses. This process culminated in the formulation and implementation of the 20-Point Programme with focus on ameliorating the condition of the poor masses.

She was unremitting in her endeavour for the unity and solidarity of the nation. A staunch defender of the secular ideals of the Constitution, she worked tirelessly for the social and economic advancement of the minorities. Her abiding concern for their welfare was reflected in the special measures taken by Government for guarding their religious, cultural and educational rights and for expanding their employment opportunities. She worked indefatigably for eradicating communal violence which she called a slur on the fair name of India.

Her vision of a modern, self-reliant and dynamic economy found concrete expression in the rapid strides made by Indian agriculture, industry and science. The technological transformation of our agriculture has made the country self-sufficient in foodgrains, an achievement few thought was in the realm of possibility. The wide base of

our industrial structure and the strength and resilience of the infrastructure, especially of the energy section, are in no small measure due to the strong impulse of modernisation she transmitted to the planning process.

In her scheme of things, the welfare of kisans and workers had high priority. Far-reaching reforms were adopted to give land to the tiller and to improve the lot of agricultural labour. Programmes for small and marginal farmers have yielded substantial benefits in terms of higher productivity and incomes. Under her leadership, the farming community received credit and the inputs of modern agriculture and assured remunerative prices, which have provided real incentives for higher production.

The working class has developed as a major social force, thanks to her strategy of vigorous industrialisation. Under her inspiration the public sector has come to occupy the commanding heights of the economy, and the workers have been a major beneficiary of her socially progressive approach to their problems. India is among the few developing countries with a corpus of labour legislation that protects the rights of workers and enables them to improve their skills and incomes.

In a crisis-ridden international economic environment, the Indian economy has exhibited stability and strength to develop on the basis of its own resources. That India has come through the severest global crisis since the Great Depression with an impressive record of growth and without the disruptions imposed by the worldwide process of adjustment is the measure of her leadership. She gave substance to our striving for self-reliance and created a strong base for rapid advance.

Her unflinching commitment to the cause of India's science and technology has been responsible for the remarkable spurt of creativity shown by our scientists and technologists. In every sphere of modern science, and specially in the sophisticated areas of peaceful uses of nuclear energy and space, India has emerged as a force capable of closing the technological gap. Her constant encouragement to scientists to reach new frontiers made possible a number of advances. The growth of ocean development within a short time and the expedition to Antarctica mark the distance we have travelled since Indira Gandhi assumed leadership of the nation. For her, science and technology were the means for the betterment of the masses.

Sensitive to the harm that thoughtless and unimaginative economic development can do, she was among the few international figures to have emphasised the supreme importance of environment in our thinking for the future of humanity. Like a seer she drew on the wisdom and insight of our ancient culture to point out, in her moving address at the U.N. Conference on the Human Environment at

Stockholm in 1972, the danger posed by the plunder of nature to the future of humanity and pleaded for a pattern of development in which man will live in harmony with nature. We owe to her the consciousness of the need to protect our forests, rivers, lakes, air and wild life for a truly human existence.

Indeed, it can be said that there was no creative activity, political, economic, scientific or cultural, in which she did not take interest and which she did not enrich. Her commitment to the heritage of this country and its cultural values was profound. With it came support to all aspects of art, craft, theatre, dance and music. During 1965-74 she was Chairman of the Sangeet Natak Akademi. She took special interest in the work of the Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha as its President. For her enduring contribution in the intellectual sphere she received doctoral degrees and awards from a large number of universities and scientific academies in this country and abroad. For her outstanding work in the field of family planning she was given the UN Population Award in 1983.

Among her many-sided pursuits, the one to which she gave touching personal care was the welfare of the handicapped. She instituted several programmes for the blind and the physically disabled. A nationwide campaign for treatment of leprosy was launched. Her personal concern for the handicapped has brought a new ray of hope for them.

She was a tireless crusader for the uplift of the underprivileged. She initiated concrete and lasting programmes for the economic and social betterment of the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes, the backward classes and other weaker sections. These are now an integral part of the national anti-poverty programmes. She aroused the conscience of the community for upholding the rights of women and their social and economic advancement.

A lover of mountains, Indira Gandhi's sympathy with the hill people and their distinctive pattern of life lay behind the special programmes devised for hill development. She travelled to the remotest parts of India, including our outlying islands, to integrate these isolated communities into national life. The people of these areas claimed her as their own, out of their boundless affection and gratitude for her sincere devotion to their cause.

Herself a product of the national freedom movement, Indira Gandhi accorded concrete recognition to the sterling services rendered to the country by the freedom fighters.

She devoted a great deal of time and energy to youth welfare. She was keen that India's youth should excel in sports. Honouring her commitment to hold the Asian Games in India, she gave to Delhi the most modern stadia and other facilities which are the envy of many a capital city. The constant encouragement and guidance given by her to

the development of sports was fittingly recognised by the conferment on her of the Gold Order of the International Olympic Council in 1983.

Never making any compromise where national security was concerned, she was acutely conscious of the need for modernisation of our defence forces to deal with the new challenges posed by the deterioration in our security environment. She provided a vigorous thrust to the indigenous effort to make India self-reliant in this sensitive and vital sphere. Thanks to her unstinted support to policies for technological upgradation of our defence, the Indian armed forces today are fully capable of safeguarding the nation's integrity. She went beyond the machines to the men who use them. For the defence forces she initiated wide-ranging policies to improve their service conditions and morale. Her personal concern for the problems of ex-servicemen is reflected in a series of measures taken by Government to improve their employment terms.

In a stewardship of many achievements, particularly memorable was the courage and outstanding statesmanship which she showed in dealing with the Bangladesh crisis in 1971.

Indira Gandhi epitomised the aspirations of the entire human race. She was dedicated to the ideals of the United Nations and principles of its Charter. She was one of the world's foremost champions of peace and total disarmament. She stood for an international order in which power was tempered by compassion, and knowledge and capability were at the service of humanity. She was unstinting in her support for the liberation of dependent countries. Like her illustrious father, she was against all forms of exploitation and considered political and military blocs as impediments to world peace. She was also the foremost voice advocating a lessening of economic disparities among nations. She was in the front rank of the Non-Aligned Movement to which she provided content, dynamism and cohesion. She was elected Chairperson of that Movement at the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit which met in New Delhi in March 1983.

Indira Gandhi never flinched in the face of dangers and challenges. In times of extreme crises, personal or national, she showed indomitable courage and fortitude. She moved among the millions giving them courage and drawing sustenance from them.

As a mark of esteem in which she was held by hundreds of millions of her countrymen and women, the nation conferred its highest award 'Bharat Ratna' on her in 1972.

In spite of her total involvement in the cause of the nation at home and peace and progress for the entire human family, Indira Priyadarshini was always full of vibrant vitality and joy, taking interest in all that was beautiful in nature. But this magnificent life of radiance and charm was

brutally and heinously cut short on October 31, 1984 by a dastardly and treacherous act perpetrated in her own residence by two of those who were charged with her security.

To Indira Gandhi the preservation of the unity and integrity of the country was a sacred mission to which everything else had to be subordinated. For defending the unity of the country she fought boldly and vigorously against communalism, obscurantism, revivalism and religious fundamentalism of all types. She repeatedly warned the nation that communalism and obscurantism were the tools employed by the forces of destabilisation.

She laid down her life in defence of the ideals on which the unity and integrity of the Republic are founded. The martyrdom of Mahatma Gandhi and Indira Gandhi for upholding the unity of India will reverberate across the centuries.

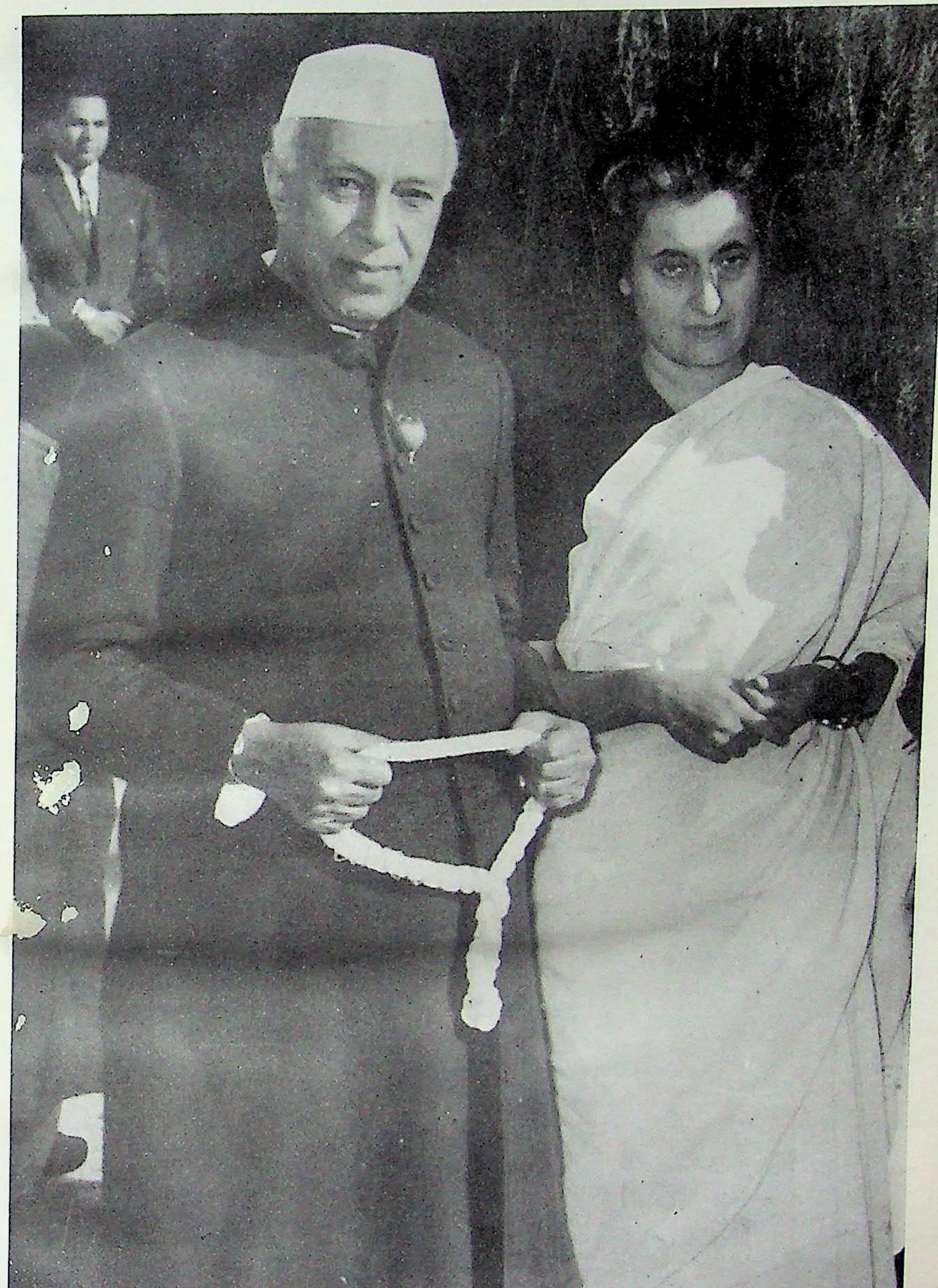
Rarely in history has one single individual come to be identified so totally with the fortunes of a country. She became the indomitable symbol of India's self-respect and self-confidence. Death came to her when she was at her peak, when her stature and influence were acclaimed the world over.

In the tragic death of Indira Gandhi, India has lost a leader of unwavering dedication and consistent brilliance at a crucial moment of political and economic development. The nation owes a great debt of gratitude to this decisive, radiant and compassionate personality. Her father had described himself as a person who loved India with all his mind and heart and whom the Indian people in turn deeply loved and revered. This was equally true of Indira Gandhi. The people of India will have abiding affection and respect for this great leader, who served them till her last breath.

Only a day before her death she said:

> **"Even if I die for the service of the nation,
> I shall be proud of it. Every drop of my blood,
> I am sure, will contribute to the
> growth of this nation and make it strong and dynamic."**

The nation grieves the untimely passing of this great daughter of India and places on record its admiration and gratitude for her work for the country's integrity, strength and advance.



With her father



Bharat Ratna being awarded by President V.V. Giri

Signing Agreement of Friendship with Mujibur Rehman of Bangladesh





Receiving Degree of Doctor of Civil Laws in London



Signing Simla Agreement with Z.A. Bhutto of Pakistan

Being sworn in as Prime Minister by President Sanjeeva Reddy



II
Homage from Some Eminent Indians

Our beloved Mrs. Indira Gandhi is no longer with us. I have lost my dear friend, we have all lost one of the greatest leaders our country has ever produced, and the world has lost a harbinger of peace who was undoubtedly the greatest woman leader mankind has ever produced.

—*Giani Zail Singh*
President of India

India has lost its illustrious Prime Minister who was adored and loved by millions and millions of our people. The Non-Aligned Movement has lost an indomitable champion of the developing countries and the world as great statesman who laboured hard to achieve peace and progress.

The grief that the nation now suffers should be turned into a dedication to carry forward the crusade for national integration and communal harmony for which our beloved leader lived and worked till the very last breath of her life. Indiraji has attained martyrdom following the footsteps of Gandhiji.

—*R. Venkataraman*
Vice-President of India

Indira Gandhi made the sovereignty of the people a reality and strove to ensure that policies and laws secured their rights. She fought against

fanaticism and narrowness in all their forms. She made the nation self-reliant in agriculture, industry and several branches of technology. She battled relentlessly against poverty. Hers was the foremost voice for international peace in our tense and troubled world. Most important of all, she infused us with self-confidence and a sense of purpose. She gave us back our pride. This splendid heritage has been left to us by Indiraji. I pledge to preserve this precious legacy and to work for a united, strong and prosperous India, an India devoted to the cause of peace.

She was a mother not only to me but to the whole nation. She served the Indian people to the last drop of her blood. The country knows with what tireless dedication she toiled for the development of India. You all know how dear to her heart was the dream of a united, prosperous and peaceful India—an India in which all Indians, irrespective of their religions, linguistic or political diversities would live as a family in an atmosphere free from mutual rivalries and prejudices.

—*Rajiv Gandhi*
Prime Minister of India

This dastardly attack on the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, has shocked the whole nation and the world.

—*N. Sanjeeva Reddy*
Former President of India

She braved many adversities and success followed in an uncommon measure. She was a picture of courage in moments of crisis.

—*Y.V. Chandrachud*
Chief Justice of India

Her contribution to the world peace, upliftment of the downtrodden and her efforts to make India a strong nation will be long remembered in the history of the world. In her death, the world has lost a great statesman, the non-aligned movement a champion of world peace and Indian people a mother.

—*Pranab Mukherjee*
Union Minister for Finance

Shrimati Indira Gandhi's sad demise has created a vacuum which cannot be filled. This loss cannot be compensated. Her absence from the national scene will always be felt. In her death the world has lost a great statesman, India a peerless leader of the masses, and the entire humanity has lost a human being par-excellence.

Indiraji represented the ray of hope for the millions of our countrymen. She was the voice of the downtrodden and the exploited millions as the centre of their hopes and aspirations. She felt the pulse of the Indian people and voiced their feelings. Her mother-like image will remain forever in the minds and hearts of hundreds of millions of Indians. Her philosophy was the philosophy of India.

—P.V. Narasimha Rao
Union Minister for Home Affairs

Shrimati Gandhi was the symbol of the hopes and aspirations of millions of Indians who yearned for a brighter and more secure future. Totally committed to the cause of national unity and integration, and the uplift of the less-privileged sections of society, Smt. Gandhi's far-reaching vision envisaged India as a nation that would soon be self-reliant in every sphere and take its rightful place in the comity of nations.

Under her stewardship, India followed an unswerving path of peaceful co-existence and true non-alignment, which became a model for the rest of the world. Smt. Gandhi's multi-faceted, dynamic personality strengthened the sinews of the nation and rejuvenated a sense of pride in every Indian. Her contribution is evident in every aspect of India's progress and development.

A statesman of international repute, Smt. Gandhi's role in guiding the developing nations of the world and her personal contribution towards disarmament and global peace has been acknowledged by the entire international community.

—S.B. Chavan
Union Minister for Defence

Indiraji died as an apostle of India's national unity, solidarity and integration. Probably there is no single human being whose contribution has been so magnificent as late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's in respect of India's unity and oneness theory.

—A.B.A. Ghani Khan Choudhury
Union Minister for Railways

She lived and worked tirelessly for the welfare of our poor and she laid down her life for the cause of communal harmony.

—*Vasant Sathe*
Union Minister for Chemicals and Fertilizers

This is the biggest tragedy that could befall this country. May God save our country. All her colleagues feel orphaned and the nation will mourn for her for ages. She will go down in the history as a great martyr who sacrificed her life for certain principles to uphold the dignity and integrity of the country.

—*Rao Birendra Singh*
Union Minister for Agriculture

"The messiah of the weaker sections is no more" was the anguished cry from my heart when I realised that our beloved Indiraji was no more. The weaker sections have been orphaned by this tragic and brutal assassination. If Gandhiji gave weaker sections the pride of place in Indian society, our beloved Indiraji showed the path for improving their lot. From the very start, Smt. Gandhi realised that the real upliftment of the poor and the downtrodden could be achieved only by implementing the policies which would ensure social justice and economic advancement of these sections. In fact, the 20-Point Programme is the sheet anchor for their emancipation. Indiraji wanted the fruits of development to be shared by every section of society. In the sphere of health, she wanted that the facilities which were being created must also go to the people in the remote areas.

—*B. Shankaranand*
Union Minister for Health and Family Welfare

She was not only the leader of the third world but also an acclaimed statesman of international standing. She was the symbol of stability, progress and prosperity of our nation.

—*Veerendra Patil*
Union Minister for Labour and Shipping

Smt. Indira Gandhi served the country with every breath in her as a child and to her last stage she struggled and struggled for India's freedom, for its progress, for its security and unity. And now the last ounce of blood in her is gone for Indian unity. She has become an immortal in the cause of Indian Unity. The best tribute one can pay to her is to keep India united, strong and marching forward.

—H.K.L. Bhagat
Union Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting

Indira Gandhi's contribution to the building up of a strong and self-reliant India is indeed tremendous. She will be remembered for long not only for her astute and able stewardship of this large country but, more abidingly, for her deep concern for the upliftment of the under-privileged, for her concern for the welfare of women, children and handicapped.

It is not sufficiently known how deeply Indira Gandhi was involved in education. She had learnt the basic principles of education from her father Jawaharlal Nehru and Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore under whose care she spent one year at Santiniketan. It was natural for her to feel the pulse of the contemporary child and the youth and to conceive plans of educational innovations. She kept herself abreast with the developing educational thought. In the international field she played a significant role as a member of the Executive Board of UNESCO much before she joined the government. She underlined the importance of harmony of man with nature and added the concern for human environment as an important dimension of educational endeavour. She looked upon the school and university as a nursery of human souls.

Her concern for expeditious development of educational facilities for the weaker sections of the society is well reflected in the 20-Point Programme. A host of educational and cultural institutions in the country owe their existence to her initiative. Many of these institutions have flourished and blossomed under her patronage and care. She was deeply involved in the promotion and preservation of India's cultural heritage. Some of the major programmes initiated in recent years in this field were truly conceived and implemented with her personal blessings.

—Sheila Kaul
Minister of State for Education, Culture and Social Welfare

She was recognised as one of the greatest champions of the Third World but more than anything else we have to remember that she stood for a very strong, united and an economically powerful India. She stood uncompromisingly, fearlessly and ultimately paid with her blood for the nation's integrity, nation's solidarity and the nation's unity.

—N.K.P. Salve

Union Minister of State for Steel, Mines and Parliamentary Affairs

Our late Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, symbolised the great trust and faith in the pursuit of science and technology for the economic and social well-being of the people of India. She represented a rare, one might say, unique synthesis of science, culture and spirituality. She had an innate love of all things of beauty in nature, of all diverse manifestations of creative instincts of mankind, of all regions and ages of the world. A holistic all-absorbing capability blended together for her a harmony of ancient philosophy, wisdom and tradition with the most advanced scientific theories of matter, energy, universe and of the physical basis of life forms. She applied such a rich perception with a deep insight and great vigour for ensuring that the fruits of science and technology are applied to the most urgent needs of all our people. Science and technology were thus instruments for peace, security, serenity and joy much as song, dance and prayerful contemplation have been for all mankind. She practised and fostered this unit of approach in thought and action at all times, so that the children of our country whom she loved, will grow in a land of happiness and prosperity, preserving tradition and modernity.

—Shivraj V. Patil

Union Minister of State for Science & Technology

There is gloom and darkness all around. The country is orphaned. The great unifying force, the champion of weak and the down-trodden, the great crusader against exploitation and the beacon of peace to mankind is no more.

My heart like all my countrymen and millions abroad is full of grief and sorrow.

My humble tribute and salute to the great soul.

—S.M. Krishna

Minister of State for Commerce

Indiraji was the most popular and powerful woman leader not only of India but also of the world. She has sacrificed her life for India's unity, integrity and the preservation of democracy. Her illustrious leadership spanning over two decades symbolised eternal, human and moral values. She was our indefatigable leader, our beloved sister and our greatest friend.

—Ramdulari Sinha
Union Minister of State for Home Affairs

Ends an epoch with the sudden demise of Mrs. Indira Gandhi who guided the destiny of 700 million people for the last two decades.

Though she is no more her ideals of secularism, Indian nationalism and democratic socialism will continue to inspire the coming generations. She displayed her indomitable courage and spirit and rare qualities in facing the gravest situations and led the nation towards its declared objectives of removal of poverty, raising the standard of living of the people and securing a place of honour for India in world councils.

Our greatest tribute to her would be to complete the unfinished task she has left behind.

—N.R. Laskar
Union Minister of State for Industry

Mrs. Indira Gandhi was an eminent leader of international repute. She had identified herself with the common people of all religions, castes and creeds. She adapted herself to almost all the costumes thereby giving the impression that she belonged to every region. She loved every inch of her country and all her countrymen. She was perhaps the only Prime Minister in the whole world who travelled through the length and breadth of the country. She had great affection and admiration for youth of this country, and the youth in turn used to get inspiration from her.

—Ghulam Nabi Azad
Deputy Minister for Information and Broadcasting

Indiraji was a great democrat and also a great parliamentarian of the world. She was the champion of downtrodden and poor. She was working tirelessly for the removal of poverty through the regeneration of economy.

—Janardhana Poojari
Deputy Minister for Finance

A dastardly act which should be condemned by all.

—Morarji Desai
Former Prime Minister

Though I was politically opposed to Mrs. Gandhi, none could deny that she had played a very important role in the country's history. . . It is indeed a sad day in our country's history. This growing cult of violence poses one of the greatest dangers to all democratic values that we cherish.

—Charan Singh
Former Prime Minister

The achievements under her leadership have been truly outstanding both in respect of achieving self-reliance and ensuring social justice . . . the greatest contribution of Shrimati Indira Gandhi in the field of economic planning lies in making the whole planning process relevant to the common people of our country whose expectations and enthusiasm have been aroused and whose active involvement in the movement for equity and social justice became real.

—Dr. C.H. Hanumantha Rao
Member, Planning Commission

Her personality contained in it the ancient philosophy and wisdom of India into which was integrated the modernity of western liberal thought and aspects arising through the advancement of science and technology.

—M.G.K. Menon
Member, Planning Commission

Mrs. Gandhi was the undisputed leader of India and one of the greatest leaders of the world. The country and the world expected a lot from her, but God's will cannot be changed.

—A.N. Banerjee
Governor of Karnataka

I am deeply shocked that the one woman, who held this country together through the sheer force of her personality and the quality of her leadership, has been the victim of the senseless assassination. I am deeply grieved that this most illustrious member of my family to whom I was bound by the most intimate bonds of love and affection, should be no more.

—B.K. Nehru
Governor of Gujarat

She was not only the Prime Minister of our great country but the hope and the pride of the whole nation and indeed of the whole civilised world... She brought honour to us in whatever she did and wherever she went. She built our country to heights which became the envy of the entire world. She was a true friend of the poor and the downtrodden, of the minorities and the weaker sections and she was a human to a fault. A person of high culture and eminent personal charm, her void will never be filled.

—Dr. Gopal Singh
Lt. Governor of Goa, Daman and Diu

A cowardly and dastardly attack on the life of Mrs. Indira Gandhi has removed from the national scene a guiding star and a dynamic leader.

—M.L. Kampani
Lt. Governor of A & N Islands

She had inherited several admirable qualities from her father, Nehru. She was a very rare woman who faced the most difficult situation with courage.

—Ramakrishna Hegde
Chief Minister of Karnataka

Such a leader comes seldom in a nation's history and remains for all times a source of inspiration to the people. She was a mother to the millions of the poor of this country and an indefatigable fighter for national integrity, national resources, democracy, socialism and international peace.

—Janaki Ballabh Patnaik
Chief Minister of Orissa

Her invaluable contribution for political stability and planned progress in this country will ever be remembered by all of us.

—*N.T. Rama Rao*
Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh

She had been the symbol of hopes and aspirations of the people of this country. She was a symbol of the hopes of millions of down-trodden and poor people not only of this country but of the developing countries and the world at large.... for the people of India she was not only a leader, a mother too. A mother of millions of down-trodden, poor, weaker sections and, in a way, a mother of humanity.

—*Madhav Singh Solanki*
Chief Minister of Gujarat

In her passing away, particularly in such tragic circumstances, we have all lost a truly great and highly respected personality.

—*Justice A.N. Grover*
Chairman, Press Council

Her courage was as monumental and unmatched as her capacity for work....Indira Gandhi joins the ranks of immortal martyrs of every continent. Let her sacrifice not be in vain. Every man and woman must carry on the unfinished battle against imperialism.

—*Aruna Asaf Ali*

The light has again gone out but Indira lives. She lives in those actions of hers which she had dedicated to the nation. She lives in those peoples whom she had inspired.

—*Khwaja Ahmed Abbas*

In the death of Mrs. Gandhi the country has lost a great patriot and an outstanding man (sic) and an outstanding leader of men. During the last two decades nearly, with a very brief interlude, she bestowed the Indian political scene like a veritable colossus.

—*L.K. Advani*

Indira Gandhi lived and died for India. She died a martyr's death in the supreme cause for which she lived and worked with religious dedication to preserve the unity and strength of India as a secular democracy. She died at the peak of her fight against the international hate-mongers, who saw in her national and international stature a massive road-block to their hauvinistic strategies. She died at the peak of her fight against the secessionist and the communal hate-mongers who sought the disintegration of India.

—Frank Anthony

`Indiraji is no more among us today. But I know her spirit is with us and fondly stroking the hair of India, kissing the forehead of India and telling the country to have patience, determination and to go forward.

—Amitabh Bachchan

Today that great symbol of strength, compassion, confidence and courage is no longer with us. But let us follow the path she showed to us to be united, to be strong, to be one and protect our motherland from disintegration.

—Vyjayanti Mala Bali

Indira Gandhi's supremacy over political rivals lay in her strength, memory and uncanny sense of timing plus training in the art of politics perhaps almost from the babyhood.

—Tara Ali Beg

There is no need to bring any political overtones into any appreciation of her as a woman, as an Indian, as a patriot. She was indomitable in her courage, supremely confident that whatever may happen, the people of India will triumph, the people of India can never be defeated. She was a heroine to her bones completely, fearless, intrepid and absolutely confident that the good will prevail in the end.

—Jamshed Bhama

...the redeeming feature is that our leader and Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi, during her career as a Prime Minister, has given guidelines as to what should we do when our country is in danger.

—Chandulal Chandrakar

After the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, this is the most tragic incident in our nation's public life. The cult of violence has to be resisted by all of us together and the nation has to face this terrible tragedy. By the death of the Prime Minister in these circumstances, we have lost almost the vitality to function as a democratic nation.

—Chandrasekhar

She was fully equipped to be the real leader of the country. And in the course of the last two decades, she made India a real powerful nation. She had so completely identified herself with the people of the country and the nation's problems that she was a very natural leader.

—Y.B. Chavan

The attack on Mrs. Gandhi is the greatest tragedy that could ever happen in our country.

—S.A. Dange

It is shocking beyond words to express the feelings at the murder of Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, by some fanatic elements. She had been carrying almost the entire burden of the country since 1966.

She was loved and respected not only in this country but all over the world. Her passing away at this critical juncture will create a void in India and also in the entire world.

—Bala Saheb Deoras

Indira was endowed with unique qualities of fearlessness, hardwork and the capacity to take right decisions at the right moments. She was

not conceited and always mixed with every section of the society. Despite heavy responsibilities, she led a life free from worries. Seeing this I was often reminded of Bapuji.

I had known Indiraji for 45 years. She had fortitude, firmness and was full of compassion, love and affection for the people of India. She was a messiah of the poor.

In her public meetings every word uttered by her was listened to by the people with rapt attention. In fact, her voice had a sort of magical effect on them. She was a brave and chivalrous leader, full of patriotic fervour.

—Kanu Gandhi

Of the many facets of Indira Gandhi's extraordinarily luminous personality is, of course, her great sense of adventure. What I remember most, and recall with admiration, is her excitement about the air and its promise of freedom and inner thrill. She was greatly interested in aviation, and like her father, shared an impetuous love for it. . . The same sense of freedom made her a staunch champion of the freedom of the press even when she found it necessary to put curbs on it. . . In spite of her many admonishments to the press, and it was her concern in its responsible functioning that made her deliver them; at heart she had no doubt that the press must be free.

—Vishwa Bandhu Gupta

The murder of Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi under tragic circumstances has shocked the whole nation. . . . Indira Gandhi, no doubt, was a person who maintained the integrity of the country to a large extent.

—Jagjivan Ram

She was a person with high order of courage, determination, sense of duty, devotion and love for our motherland, who could face any situation to save the nation.

—Akshaya Kumar Jain

Smt. Indira Gandhi was an outstanding statesman who felt deeply and fought with determination and passion against injustice, hunger, poverty, disease, exploitation and aggression. As Prime Minister of the country for nearly two decades, Smt. Gandhi toiled to carry the message of unity, communal harmony and national integration to its every nook and corner. Rarely in history, has one single individual come to be identified so totally with the fortunes and fate of the country. Her immense and direct appeal to the masses in a vast country of India's size has few parallels in world history.

—Shriyans Prasad Jain

It seemed that the whole globe was part of her concern and I think this is what gave her stature. She was rooted in India, strong in tradition, with a modern mind she could look beyond frontiers.

I think she had the roughest tenure which any Prime Minister has faced. Being a woman, in the beginning, her associates thought they could dominate her. Later they discovered that she had strengths of which they were unaware. As these strengths surfaced they also discovered that Indira Gandhi was at her tallest when she faced any major crisis.

—Pupul Jayakar

Hers was a personality which was really that of a great leader, a democrat in every sense of the word because if she was not a democrat she would not have had the kind of support and popularity and all-India image regardless of communities, religion, language, which she commanded. Yet she was not the kind of a democrat who, in order to get votes makes a sacrifice of national interest just to get cheap popularity. And therefore she had strength, she had determination, she had the courage to take measures which in isolation could be viewed as unpopular measures, but still they were measures which essentially had the interests of the people at heart.

—L.K. Jha

The passing away of Indiraji has ended an epoch which brought our country in the forefront of the struggle of long suppressed and exploited

multitude of nations for achievement of justice, freedom, peace and progress. Under her leadership not only did our country make a spectacular advance towards attainment of these noble goals, but in the process, also enriched the content thereof.

—Subhadra Joshi

All I can say is that we may carry forward the task which Indiraji had made her own, namely the preservation of the country's unity and integrity so that India and its people may forever live in peace.

—Raj Kapoor

Her life itself was an odyssey; born into one of the most highly political families of India, her entire childhood and youth was spent in the context of the freedom movement.

She was deeply, even fiercely patriotic. For her the welfare of India was the predominant motive in her life and all that she did was directed towards that end... I do not think that even her bitterest critics would have ever questioned her motive, the motive of building strong and united India and this deep burning patriotism was almost a religion to her; and linked with this was a remarkable courage. She was one of the bravest human beings I have ever come across. I have seen her in very difficult situations, never did she flinch.... She was never afraid to take a risk. Because she felt that what she was doing contributed towards the building up of a strong and united India. That was her dream.

—Dr. Karan Singh

Indiraji loved the Himalayas; she was happiest amongst them and not only adored them but shared their aloofness too... What could have been a better thought than to spread her last remains in the solitude of the vastness of pure, white snows, where nothing else but peace and tranquillity prevail. If there is heaven, this is the one, and there she rests.

—Col. N. Kumar

She had a very clear idea of India's role and position in international affairs and to this she brought a master's touch. I found her a remarkable woman who for me symbolised courage and fortitude and a capacity for extremely long hours of work which instead of tiring her would give her added energy. This is the mystery behind her character.

—*Anuradha Kunte*

She was a great lady. Her sympathy for every person, her concern for the downtrodden people of this country, her devotion to this nation, her total dedication to her work, is something which is worthy of emulation by one and all.

—*Dr. K.P. Mathur*

Her passing away has deprived us of one who had a genuine and sincere respect for all arts and artists.

—*Vinaya Chandra Maudgalya*

. . .nobody can question her sincerity and the great contribution she has made to the prestige of India abroad, protected its independence and sovereignty, and in her fights against the forces of disintegration. Certainly the nation has suffered a great loss by her untimely death.

—*Achutha Menon*

She was the one leader, who was able to keep all communities in India, and there are so many of them, under control and co-operate with one another.

—*Vijay Merchant*

She was the symbol of Indian unity and also the unity of all mankind. She particularly stood for the integrated cultural unity of our great country.

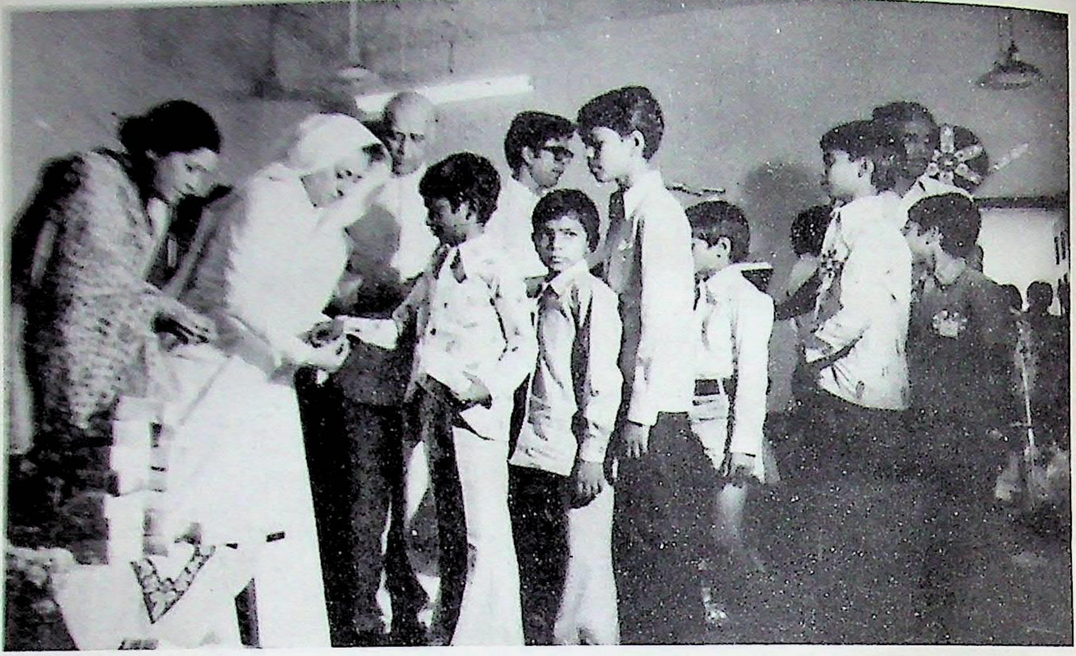
—*Braja Mohan Mohanty*



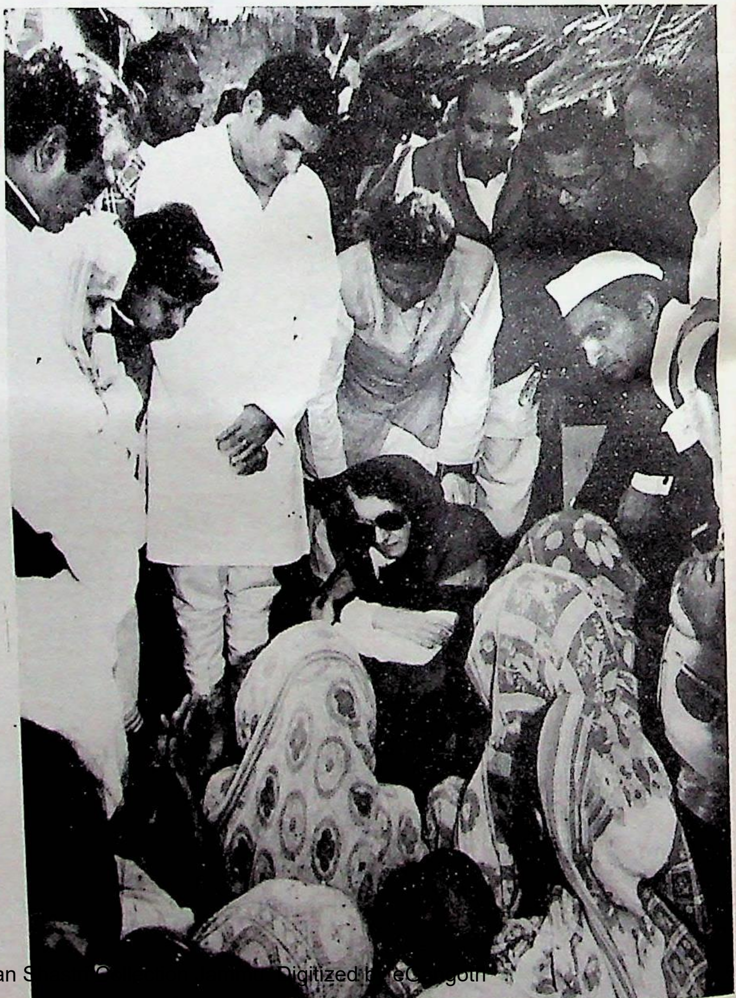
Commissioning offshore platforms manufactured by Mazagaon Dock, Bombay

With Onge tribals





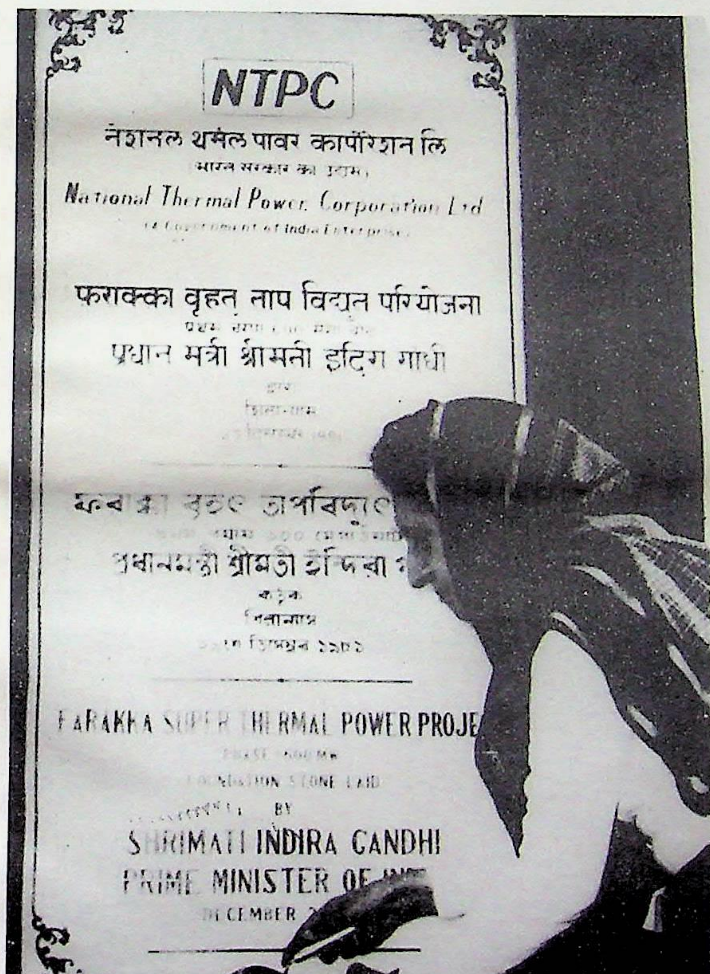
Rakhi for a child



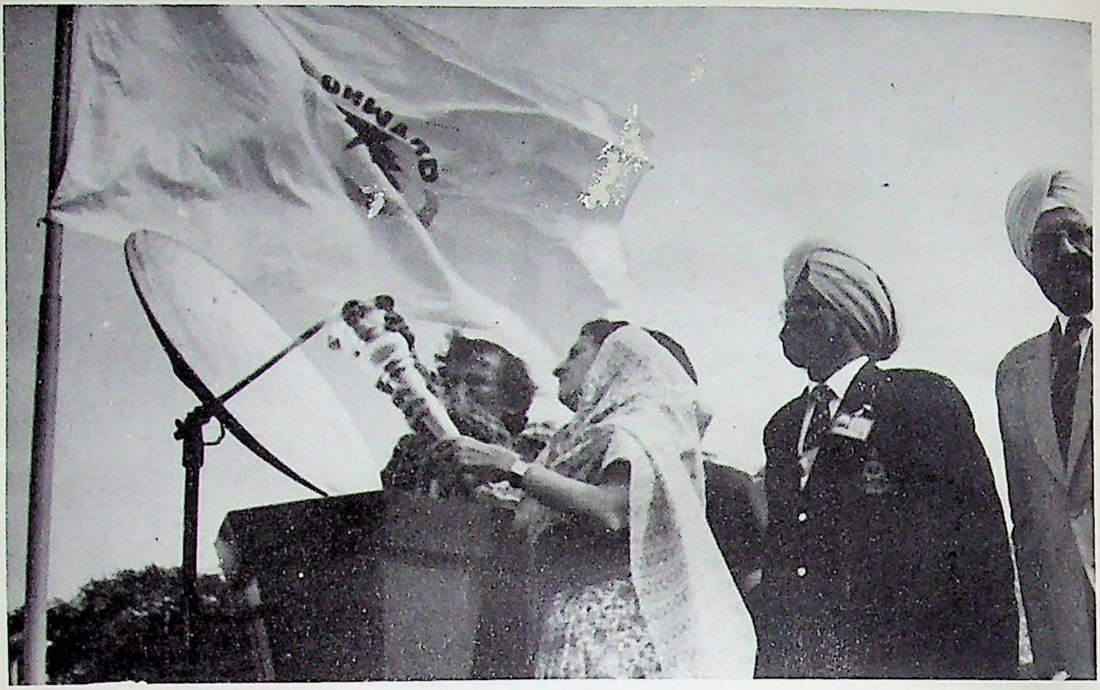
Consoling the victims of Dehuli village tragedy in Uttar Pradesh



Presiding over a Planning Commission meeting



Laying the foundation-stone of a power project



Inaugurating the 9th Asian Games in New Delhi

Addressing the 7th Non-Aligned Meeting in New Delhi



How agonising it is for us that she died so early, so suddenly, so cruelly, but in a way it was the fulfilment of a heroic life, for she has died in harness, true to her dedication unto the last. Even as sorrow sears the heart there will be proud admiration for the courage and character of a valiant leader of India.

—Hiren Mukherjee

India will never be the same without her. She was a beacon that led this country for a long time. She was the one person who made all of us Indians extra proud that we were people of this country.

—Vimla Patil

The death of Mrs. Gandhi is a great loss to the country and the non-aligned world. Her death has caused more difficulties when the country is passing through a critical situation.

—Sharad Pawar

She was a woman with great courage, great determination and a person who always said: Ekla Chalo Re. If the path is not clear for the others, she paved the way for them and showed as a beacon the light to all the others to follow.

—Sushila Rohtagi

Shrimati Indira Gandhi was an outstanding patriot and an exceptionally great leader of our country. On every occasion when our country faced any difficult problem, she successfully faced it to ensure the promotion of our country's integrity, unity and prosperity. Her sad and untimely demise has created an incomparable and insurmountable void. 'May her soul rest in peace' is our fervent prayer to Lord Almighty.

—Jagadguru Saṇkaracharya of Sringeri Saradapeetham

Whilst praying for the eternal solace of the departed soul, we on the eve of this Gurpurab of Guru Nanakdevji Maharaj pledge to carry out the national policies that Mrs. Gandhi had carved out for the good of us all

such as . . . to bring about homogenity and a **esprit de corps** on a secular and a nationalistic basis amongst all classes, creeds and religious sections of society of this mighty country—India.

—*Gen. R.S. Sparrow*

The whole world knows, and even her worst enemies have acknowledged, Mrs. Gandhi's inexhaustible energy, cool courage and proud patriotism. Not less remarkable were her attention to detail, to minute particulars, her memory for persons and her solicitude for their concerns.

—*K. Swaminathan*

In the company of captains, kings and queens, presidents and prime ministers and on every occasion she stole the show. This was not contrived. This was not stage-managed but was her sheer personality, attractiveness of her personality which made her the most important individual, in any gathering.

—*K. Natwar Singh*

Indira Gandhi was not only a great Indian and an astute political leader, she was also a truly modern and civilised human being in the best sense of the word, whose culture, interest and understanding of people and events brought her world-wide recognition and respect. Some may or may not have agreed with every aspect of her political and economic philosophy, but there could be no doubt that what she did and fought for indomitably throughout her life was what she sincerely believed was in the best interest of the nation.

—*J.R.D. Tata*

Though not a believer in rituals, she held all religions in equal esteem, for the ultimate goal of all religions is one.

She had the endearing qualities of courage, compassion and tolerance which made her so popular.

—*Kamalapati Tripathi*

The fact that the assassins were from the Prime Minister's personal guard makes the tragedy all the more disturbing. . . . Mrs. Gandhi's assassination has shocked the entire nation. We had many differences with her, but even her political opponents will concede that she was a remarkable person in many ways. She did not hesitate to take daring decisions—though not always correct—which she thought to be useful and did not care if, in this process, many became her opponents.

—A.B. Vajpayee

Our country has lost a great Prime Minister, the Non-Aligned movement its leader and the world a great statesperson.

—Chandrajit Yadav

We in India will recall Smt. Indira Gandhi's many achievements for years to come and not forget that she was the first Indian ruler to have inflicted a crushing defeat on a foreign aggressor since the time of Chandra Gupta. In every action of hers, whether in the realm of policies at home or abroad, her desire was to restore and safeguard national pride and self-reliance. Jawaharlal Nehru attempted to discover the many-faceted image of India; Indira Gandhi nourished and enriched the image throughout her stewardship of the country.

I cannot convey my feelings better than to quote a poet who said :

"Hazaro saal nargis apni benoori pe rothi hai,
Bari mushkil se hota hai chaman mein deedewar paida

—Mohammad Yunus

III
Tributes from World Statesmen

UNITED NATIONS

Mrs. Gandhi was a highly respected figure worldwide and at the United Nations, which she supported staunchly following in the tradition of her illustrious father, Pandit Nehru, she represented on the international scene the spirit of moderation, tolerance and understanding which is so vitally needed in the world today.

The untimely passing of Mrs. Gandhi is a great loss to India, to the United Nations and to me personally.

—Javier Perez De Cuellar
Secretary-General of the United Nations

Mrs. Indira Gandhi was born in one of the cradles of the concept and practice of non-alignment. The daughter of one of the founders of the Non-Aligned Movement, she herself worked tirelessly to help nurture the movement in an international environment which was, and unfortunately still is, clouded in many ways by East-West rivalry. It is significant that she died while occupying the Chairmanship of the group of non-aligned states.

Her faith in the United Nations as an arbiter of inter-state conflict, and the most important centre for harmonizing the actions of nations, cannot

be challenged. For as she herself said, firm faith in the United Nations is central to the non-aligned. The aim is the same to maintain peace by removing the sources of tension and to bring out the humanity in human beings.

—*Paul Lusaka*
President, UN General Assembly

WORLD FEDERATION OF RED CROSS & RED CRESCENT SOCIETIES

In her death the Red Cross has lost a great friend and supporter.

—*Hans Hoegh*
Secretary-General of the World Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

Madame Gandhi had played an outstanding role in strengthening the cause of world peace as Prime Minister of India and as Chairperson of the movement of non-aligned countries. The assassination of Madame Indira Gandhi is a dastardly attack on India's consistent stand in support of world peace and development. It is also an attack on the Non-Aligned Movement and the causes for which this movement stands—peace, development, social justice, sovereignty and territorial integrity of nations.

—World Peace Council
Helsinki

AFGHANISTAN

She was not only a leader of India but the leader of all Asian peoples who are marching on the path of progress and development. Her loss is not just the loss of India but of Afghanistan and the Afghan people also. Her sacrifice in the cause of the good of her people and the people of poor and non-aligned countries like Afghanistan is incomparable.

—*Babrak Karmal*
President of Afghanistan

AUSTRALIA

Mrs. Gandhi was an outstanding leader whose courage, strength and guidance will be greatly missed, not only by the people of India, but throughout the world.

—Bob Hawke
Prime Minister of Australia

AUSTRIA

I was fascinated by her as a political personality, a woman of great intelligence, her large-heartedness, and her affection, dedication and love for her country and her people.

—Chancellor Sinowatz
Austria

BAHRAIN

Deeply shocked to receive news of assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, a friend of Arabs and leader of non-aligned nations.

—Shaikh Hamad Bin Isa Al Khalifa
Crown Prince and Commander-in-Chief of Bahrain Defence Force

We feel like the others in the world that the international community lost one of the prominent leaders and sincere politicians who strongly pleaded for the third world causes through the Non-Aligned Movement and promoted co-operation among these peoples.

—Shaikh Khalifa Bin Sulman al Khalifa
Prime Minister of Bahrain

BANGALADESH

We wanted to show respect to the memory of the eminent leader who has a very special place in our hearts for her historic support to our cause during the war of independence.

—Gen. H.M. Ershad
President of Bangaladesh

REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA

The tragic death of Her Excellency Indira Gandhi has deprived the world of a great stateswoman and a champion of peace. Indira Gandhi will be particularly remembered for her work and close cooperation with the Commonwealth and the Non-Aligned Movement.

It is unfortunate that great leaders lose their lives prematurely.

—*Dr. Q.K.J. Masire*
President of the Republic of Botswana

BULGARIA

Bulgaria has lost a good friend who had contributed to peace and lasting friendship between the two nations.

—*Tudor Zhivkov*
Prime Minister of Bulgaria

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

The unfortunate death of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, an outstanding leader of India and of the Non-Aligned Movement, is a great loss to the Indian people and for world peace.

Once again I would like to express my deep condolences. During her life-time Mrs Indira Gandhi made her own contribution to the improvement and development of China-India relations. I hope in times to come both sides will make concerted efforts to keep up the momentum for improving and further developing relations.

—*Zhao Ziyang*
Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China

CUBA

Cuba takes her death personally. I have lost a loyal friend.

—*Fidel Castro*
President of Cuba

FIJI

Mrs. Gandhi displayed humility in her greatness and tenderness in her strength.

—*Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara*
Prime Minister of Fiji

FRANCE

An inflexible patriot, an illustrious Prime Minister, a champion of the rights of the Third World.

The Third World loses a champion of its rights, of its independence and of its dignity. The community of nations loses with her an important personality to whom one used to refer.

My country will keep the memory of a courageous and faithful friend, always attentive to the culture and to the friendly voices from friends as well as to the reinforcement of the Franco-Indian cooperation.

—*Francois Mitterand*
President of France

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Mrs. Gandhi has continued, as a politician, the work of her great father. She has served her mother-country with energy and utmost personal engagement. She ensured the unity of the country. Simultaneously she worked for the peace in the world and for a real non-alignment in a manner which has earned her the repute of a significant statesmanlike personality of an international standard.

The contribution made by Mrs. Gandhi in pursuit of her policy aimed at achieving compromise and moderation in the North-South Summit conference of Cancun remains unforgotten. She helped in organising the North-South Summit conference with the power of her personality.

—*Hans Dietrich Genscher*
Foreign Minister of Federal Republic of Germany

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

As the Prime Minister of the Republic of India and Chairman of the movement of non-aligned countries, lasting credit is due to Indira Gandhi in the striving for peace, disarmament, understanding among nations and international cooperation. In the German Democratic Republic she will always be remembered as an outstanding personality in the struggle for India's national independence, the unity of the country and its social progress.

—*Erich Honecker*
Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic

JORDON

The loss of Mrs. Gandhi for India and for whole world cannot be compensated because the late Premier had a special status worldwide.

Her great contribution to development of India and to promoting international understanding can only add more dimension to the great tragedy.

—*King Hussein bin Talal of Jordon*

REPUBLIC OF KOREA

The world has been greatly indebted to her for many years of selfless and dedicated service particularly through the promotion of world peace through conciliation.

—*Chun Doo Hwan*
President of Republic of Korea

LEBANON

She will be remembered by millions of people around the globe and in particular in countries that share the same high principles for which she fought and struggled so gallantly during her entire life.

—*Rachid Karami*
Prime Minister of Lebanon

MALAGASY REPUBLIC

I am convinced that her name will remain attached to the ideals of peace, social progress and non-alignment.

—*Rasiraka*
President of Malagasy Republic

MALAYSIA

The untimely demise of the distinguished leader who has contributed much to international cooperation and understanding is not only a great loss to India but also to the international community particularly the third world and the Non-Aligned Movement.

—*Sultan Iskandar Yang Di-Pertuan Agong*
King of Malaysia

Mrs. Indira Gandhi was not only a leader of great eminence and wisdom but was also known for her immense contributions to world understanding and cooperation...

Malaysia has always held Mrs. Indira Gandhi in high esteem particularly for her contributions towards the Non-Aligned Movement and her role as a prominent leader in the Commonwealth and other international organisations.

—*Mahathir Mohammad*
Prime Minister of Malaysia

REPUBLIC OF MALDIVES

Her commitment to the principles of democracy and her contribution to regional affairs and the Non-Aligned Movement will endure and serve to this and future generations as a glorious example.

—*Maumoom Abdul Gayoom*
President of the Republic of Maldives

NEPAL

In her demise, India has lost one of her greatest patriots and Nepal a friend and a well-wisher. May India continue to maintain her integrity together with the peace and prosperity of her friendly people.

—*King Birendra Bir Bikram Singh Dev of Nepal*

PAKISTAN

I express deep grief and shock over the death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi who was an illustrious leader of India.

—*Gen. Zia-Ul-Haq*
President of Pakistan

She was the last link amongst the freedom fighters and I knew her personally. An era has come to an end with her death.

—*Khan Wali Khan*
Leader of National Democratic Party of Pakistan

PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANISATION

I have come to share the grief of Indians. She was a great sister and great leader and we can't forget her full support in all the struggles for just causes all over the world. I am sure her spirit would continue over India and its people.

—*Yasser Arafat*
Chairman of Palestine Liberation Organisation

POLAND

The criminal coup deprived life of Indira Gandhi, the great daughter of the Indian nation, the successor and continuer of the cause espoused by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, one of the most eminent politicians of the modern world. Her death is an irretrievable loss to the cause of peace and cooperation of nations.

Having dedicated all her life to the consolidation of the unity of the great Indian nation, to the construction of a modern state, Indira Gandhi enjoyed immense prestige in the international arena and always succeeded in advancing progress, justice and cooperation with great commitment. One associates her name with the successful development of relations of friendship and cooperation between the peoples of Poland and India.

—*General Jaruzelski*
Prime Minister of Poland

PORTUGAL

Mrs. Indira Gandhi was a historical personality who was active and prominent in the development of the Non-Aligned Movement and in world questions of major relevance, notably those which pertained to the North-South dialogue.

The President of the Republic believes that the work of Madame Gandhi in the international field represented a notable contribution for global stability.

The tenure of Madame Gandhi as head of the Government of India enabled Portugal to re-establish and intensify diplomatic relations with that country. At the same time it was possible to deepen the ties resulting from historical and cultural relations which have existed for centuries between the two nations. It was also under the Government of Madame Gandhi that Portugal found the best openings and sentiments for reinforcing the vestiges of its historical and cultural presence in Goa, Daman and Diu.

—*Antonio Ramalho Eanes*
President of Portugal

REPUBLIC OF SEYCHELLES

The death of Mrs. Gandhi undoubtedly constitutes a heavy loss not only to the people of India but to all peace-loving peoples of the world and progressive mankind. During her tenure of office the eminent qualities of statesmanship displayed by her is an undeniable proof that she has been one of the most outstanding leaders of her country. It is needless to stress the progress attained by the people of India during such a short period of time in history, her total commitment to that cause is unequalled. Beyond India's borders Mrs. Gandhi will be mostly

remembered for her relentless endeavours in achieving a new international economic order, detente, disarmament and world-wide peace.

We have lost a great leader and friend and her actions will be a source of inspiration for many generations to come.

—France Albert Rene
President of the Republic of Seychelles

SRI LANKA

Her valuable contribution to the advancement of regional co-operation is well-known.

While sharing the sense of loss that follows the tragic passing away of Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi, I wish to convey to you, to the Government and the people of India on behalf of my Government, the people of Sri Lanka and on my behalf, our deepest sympathies and condolences.

I take this opportunity to re-affirm to you and through you to the Government of India, the friendship and support of Sri Lanka as you face this great tragedy.

—J.R. Jayewardene
President of Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka has lost a friend whose sincerity was never in question. Indira Gandhi respected the sovereignty and territorial integrity of this country as much as she did of her own. She wished for Sri Lanka peace and unity of no less a degree than she sought to achieve for her own native land. It was my privilege to have been able to negotiate successfully with her, on the basis of mutual trust and affection, on inherited problems as varied and as complex as those of statelessness and territorial boundaries, and it was at times of crisis such as those that her friendship and goodwill towards this country and people manifested itself in abundant measure.

—Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike
Former Prime Minister of Sri Lanka

ST. VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES

With her demise another light has gone out in this troubled world.

—Governor-General of St. Vincent and the Grenadines

TANZANIA

We in Tanzania recognised and acknowledged her as a friend of Africa as well as a devoted supporter of the liberation of this continent from the colonialism and racism. We know also how important was her contribution to the struggle of the third world for justice and peace.

Her chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement was a recognition of her great abilities and the world's need of them. The cause of world peace and justice was being dealt a heavy blow by this assassination.

Mrs. Gandhi's whole life was one of service to her country and to humanity. Our tribute to her must be a renewed commitment to unity, within India and within the third world, and to the struggle for human dignity, justice and peace throughout the world.

—*Julius K. Nyerere*
President of Tanzania

TUNISIA

History will recall the achievements of this lady, who has done a great deal for her people, for the peoples of the third world, and for the whole humanity.

—*Mrs. Wassila Bourguiba*
Tunisia

TURKEY

Mrs. Gandhi has not only successfully governed her country as a Prime Minister, but she was one of the eminent world leaders who served the cause of world peace and distinguished herself with her valuable contributions for the stability in her country and in the region.

—*Turgut Ozel*
Prime Minister of Turkey

UGANDA

Indira Gandhi was not only the leader of the largest democracy in the world, but was also the elected leader of the struggling people in the Non-Aligned Movement.

I join you in mourning a most outstanding lady who was one of the greatest leaders in modern times. She made her mark on the Indian political scene through the support of the people.

—Dr. A. Milton Obote
President of Uganda

UNITED KINGDOM

India has been robbed of a leader of incomparable courage, vision and humanity, and the Commonwealth has lost one of its most formidable and vital personalities.

For my part, I shall feel greatly the loss of a wise colleague and a personal friend. I always looked forward to our talks together. They had some special quality and understanding.

—Mrs. Margaret Thatcher
Prime Minister of United Kingdom

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

As Prime Minister of the world's largest democracy and Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, Mrs. Gandhi was a source of global leadership. Her determined efforts to promote peace, security and economic development throughout the world, will serve as a constant reminder of Mrs. Gandhi's commitment to protect the shared values of democratic nations.

Ever since her visit to Washington in 1982, the Prime Minister and I had remained in touch. Our correspondence covered a variety of areas. In all of them, she displayed her personal commitment to her people and her desire to sustain good relations between India and the United States.

—Ronald Reagan
President of the United States of America

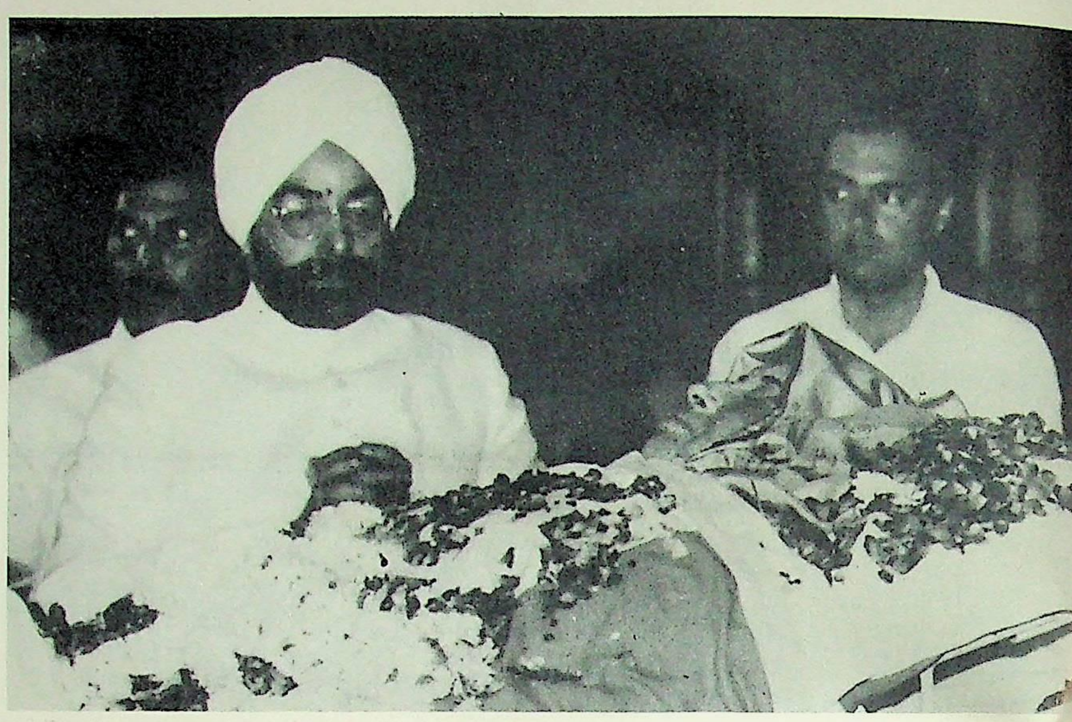
Mrs. Gandhi served her country as Prime Minister for over 15 years, and was also a major and powerful force in the world community through



Addressing the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in New Delhi

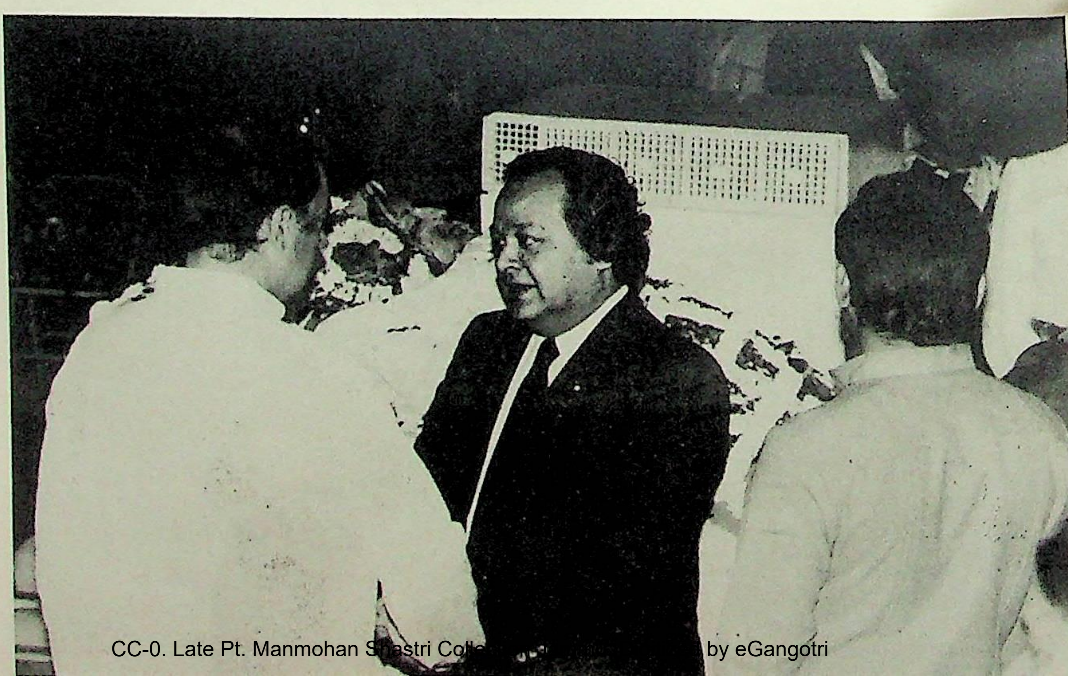
Inaugurating Air Defence and Guided Missile School at Gopalpur in Orissa

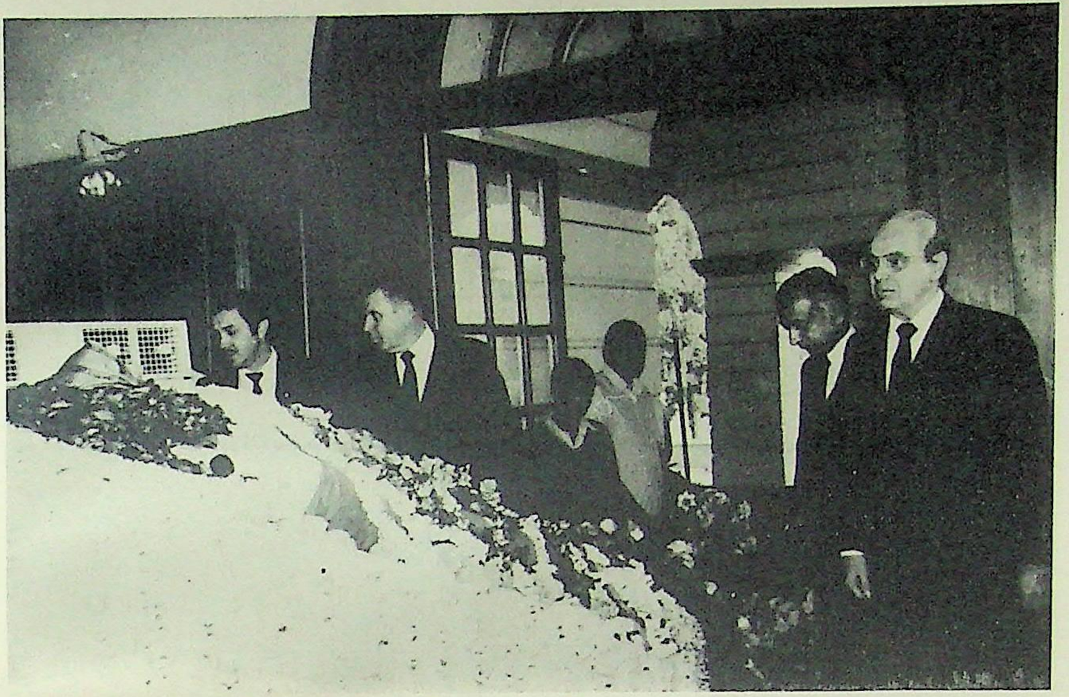




President Zail Singh paying homage to the late Prime Minister

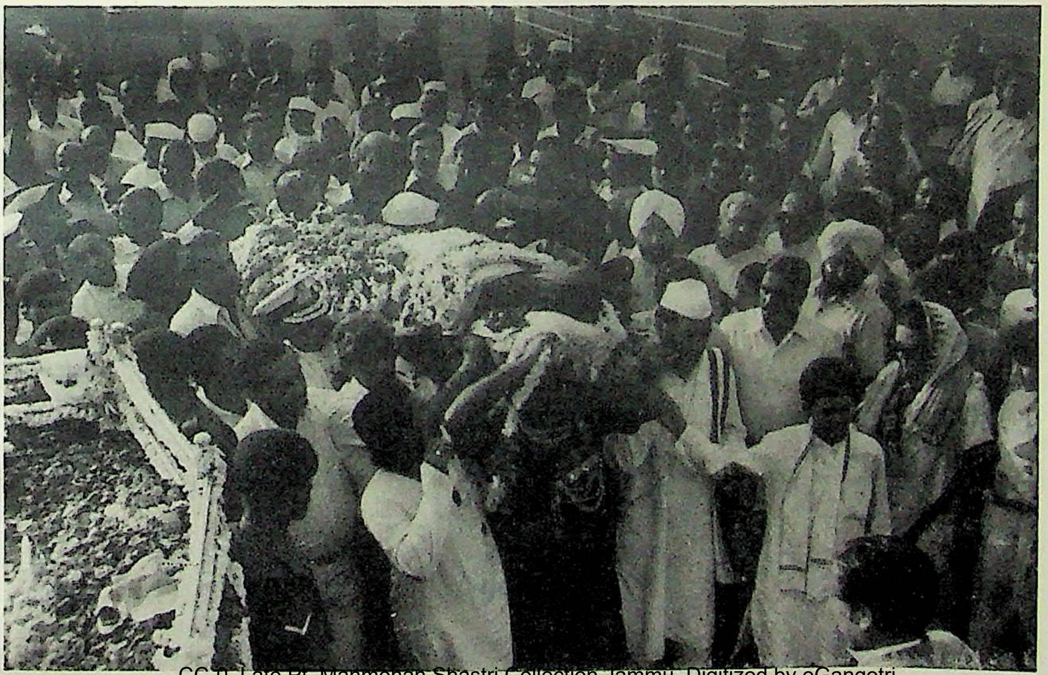
Commonwealth Secretary-General S.S. Ramphal expressing grief to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi

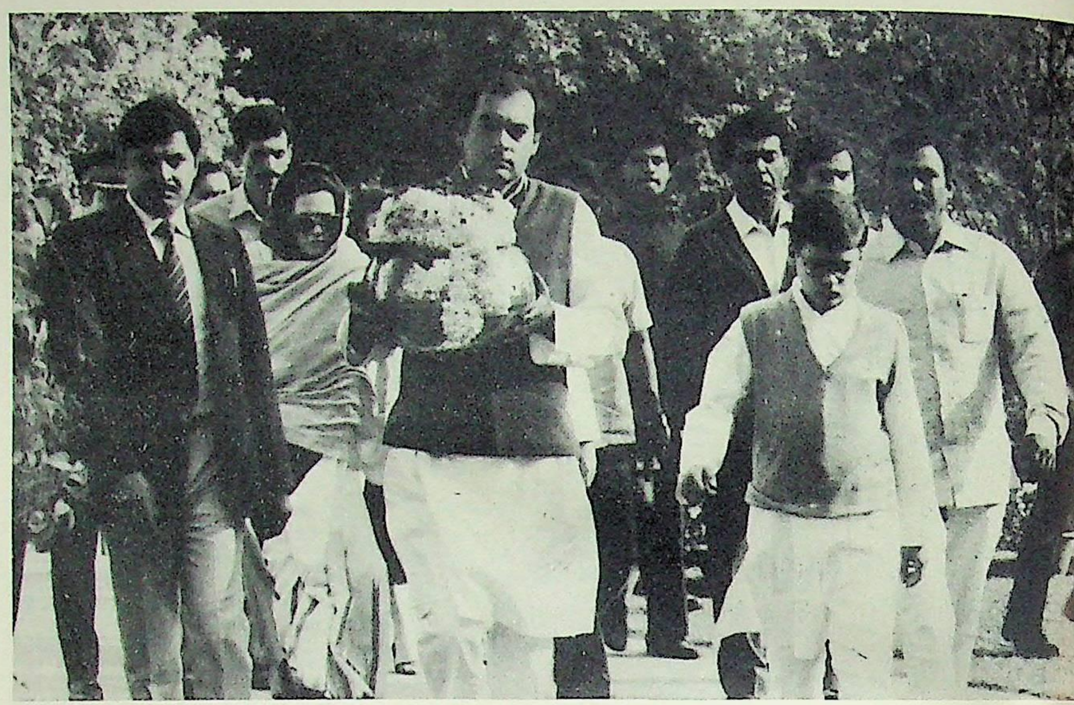




U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez De Cuellar paying homage

The last journey





Shri Rajiv Gandhi carrying ashes of Indira Gandhi to Teen Murti House in New Delhi

Shri Rajiv Gandhi scattering mortal remains of the late Prime Minister on the Gangotri



her dynamic role in global affairs, the Non-Aligned Movement, United Nations and other forums. President Reagan and Prime Minister Gandhi shared a strong determination to continue the struggle against terrorism.

—*George P. Shultz*
Secretary of State of the United States of America

A strong, courageous and fearless woman, Mrs Gandhi provided distinguished leadership to the teeming millions of her country and waged an arduous struggle to bring greater enlightenment to India through programmes that would reduce poverty, illiteracy, hunger, disease and ignorance.

—*Mrs. Coretta Scott King*
United States of America

VIETNAM

Being the beloved leader of the Indian people and the faithful and outstanding successor of the cause of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has made great contribution to the cause for safeguarding independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, developing the national economy, raising the people's livelihood and making India an important factor of peace in Asia and the rest of the world.

Being the outstanding activist of the national liberation movement and the Non-Aligned Movement and struggling untiringly for peace, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has made worthy contribution to the cause of struggle of the nations for peace, independence and social progress.

The passing away of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi constitutes an extremely great loss to the Indian people, to the bereaved and also a great loss to the Vietnamese people and to the Non-Aligned Movement and the whole mankind.

—*Le Duan*
General Secretary of Communist Party of Vietnam

forward in their march towards their inevitable triumph over the forces of evil.

—Patriot

History will judge her fairly only after some of the immediate irritants and grievances have been forgotten. But she was a person who, in spite of known flaws, compelled admiration for qualities which are not found in every political leader. She had extraordinary courage, initiative and a shrewdness which helped her to assess situations and human beings alike. Indira Gandhi's job as Prime Minister was an arduous one. To preside over the destinies of a country as vast and diverse as India demanded a degree of management skill and tenacity which do not come easy to everyone in a position of the highest responsibility. With her undoubted charm she combined a stern independence which did not always win her friends. Her choice of counsellors was criticised in her lifetime, but this was a weakness which arose from a background of caution and distrust. She could, however, be disarmingly confiding. Her reserves of warmth were not always visible but they were unmistakably there.

—The Tribune

We write these lines with feelings of grief, anguish and shame. Grief at the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi who was also the tallest and the most courageous Indian of our times. Like Gandhiji, she fell to an assassin's bullet. The mindless acts of mad men have shocked the world from time to time. But what is all the more horrifying in this case is that the Prime Minister's own security men are the murderers. Civilised sections of the world community will condemn the dastardly act of betrayal. The fanatical hate which breeds violence is a matter of national anguish.

Indira Gandhi has been one of the few Indians whose commitment to secularism and national unity was total. She has battled the forces of disruption and fanaticism all her life. Like Nehru, her untiring efforts to transform feudal groups into a modern society have been monumental. She never flinched from confrontations with the most entrenched and powerful opposition if the issues involved were national unity and integration. Her sense of timing has been historical...

...her main concern has been the stature of India. Her numerous initiatives in mending fences with our neighbours–both Pakistan and China–her work as the chairperson of the non-aligned movement and her debates with the mighty nations for a new economic order have won

her the acclaim of her own country and the world. More than any other Indian in the last two decades, she can claim the credit for inspiring the growth impulses of a modern society.

—The Economic Times

Mrs. Gandhi's sudden death at the hands of mindless assassins is an ignominy that the nation will never live down. Like Gandhiji, she has become a victim of an odious act of fanaticism and no Indian, whatever his political differences with her, will fail to be filled with shame and horror at such sanguinary barbarism injected in our public life by the politics of hate.

It is particularly poignant that she should have been killed by those whose duty it was to protect her from harm. (The scandalous carelessness in security screening that the tragedy has laid bare is something that should be inquired into.) The complacent assumption that our politics, whatever its other failings, was not of the trigger-happy kind, has been disproved once again, much to our humiliation.

Final judgment on Mrs. Gandhi's place in history is best left to the future when time will provide the necessary perspective. But those who have lived through the turbulent politics of her years as Prime Minister cannot fail to be impressed by her grit, determination and tenacity of purpose, her charismatic magnetism and profound grasp of the politics of power.

Of Mrs. Gandhi's profound impact on Indian politics of the last two decades, there can be no doubt whatever. She was, for good or ill, the most important single force that shaped it.

— Financial Express

India was Indira and Indira was India... projecting a mother symbol which the peasants in the countryside, the Harijans, the minorities and the oppressed could look up to for support and strength. She was Kali to her enemies but 'Amma' to the lowliest and the lost.

Her commitment to secularism was never in doubt... It was her father who laid the foundations of secular India and Indira Gandhi continued the tradition by carrying on the struggle against the forces of communalism.

The repercussions of Indira's death will be felt the world over. The Non-Aligned Movement of which she was the Chairperson has suffered a grievous blow at a time when the cold war between the Super Powers has increased in intensity, and the world appears to be closer than ever to the brink of a nuclear catastrophe. At a press conference in Bhubaneshwar,

thought must centre on the tragedy of an indomitable woman who led the country with courage and determination for nearly two decades. Mrs. Gandhi's political adversaries have long looked on her as indestructible; it is the nation's loss that she did not prove to be so.

—The Statesman

The first reaction, of course, was shocked disbelief. Indira Gandhi has been guiding the destiny of 700 million people for two decades and it is extremely difficult to adjust our minds to the idea that she would be no more at the helm of affairs. It will take a while to sink in. But when it does, that is when our trial begins.

"Reading history is good," Nehru wrote to her once in one of his letters. "However, it is better to help make history." As far as Indira Gandhi was concerned, the words proved prophetic. She did help make and mould history, not once, but on several spectacular occasions.

The greatness of Indira Gandhi was that she never abandoned hope in the masses; nor did she see the people as animated only by a faineant desire to be ruled. She wanted and strived for an India in which every person could hold up his head and live in peace and dignity.

History will be witness to the magnitude of Indira Gandhi's contribution to vibrant India on the march to modernity.

— The Hindustan Times

An assassin's bullet has tragically ended the life of Indira Gandhi who dominated the Indian stage for a generation, 16 years as Prime Minister. She was a strong personality, charismatic and not removed from fierce political controversy. But her murder is an utterly foul and dastardly act that has horrified and deeply stirred the democratic conscience of the nation and the world. Not since the assassination of the Mahatma has the Indian polity suffered such a traumatic blow. The attack on Indira Gandhi was an attack on India, its stability and democratic tradition.

Yet the politics of assassination and violence cannot and must not be allowed to succeed. It is abhorrent to all the values to which this country is committed. The entire nation, not excluding her worst opponents, has been numbed by the brutal loss of its elected leader and will grieve with the bereaved family.

This is a time for dedication, not anger; dedication to the democratic way of life, to national unity and to the common resolve to build a better India.

A chapter or even an era in the country's chequered political history is

ending. Yet it is extraordinarily sad that it should end this way—in blood. An anguished nation will remember Indira Gandhi as one who led the country to great heights, saw a great vision and created opportunities for its realisation....

—Indian Express

Indira Gandhi has passed into history in the line of the world martyrs. The assassins' bullets to which India's greatest leader fell were not aimed at her but what has been good and great in the glorious heritage handed over to this nation over the millenia. No words can describe the enormity and the heinous nature of the crime perpetrated against the nation, nay against humanity. October 31, Wednesday, marks not only a most gruesome tragedy that could befall a nation but Mrs Gandhi joins the lineage of the saints and ascetics who lived and died for the cause of the welfare of the humankind.

Indira Gandhi cannot die and physical death will not eliminate her from the world scene. Her ideals and concepts of the supremacy of the human brotherhood would continue to illumine the path of this generation as also of the generations to come.

Mrs. Gandhi emerged as a leader of international stature....on the strength of her unequalled boldness, initiative, and vision to take the country along the path of dynamism and to enable it to meet external aggressions and internal sabotage.

—National Herald

In her life and in her martyrdom Indira Gandhi has become a symbol of India's unity, independence and integrity. How can she die as long as the spirit of patriotism flows in our veins?

By the sweep of her vision and the depth of her commitment, Indira Gandhi became a never-wavering voice of humanity's irrepressible quest for peace on our planet. How can this voice be stilled as long as men and women worldwide refuse to succumb to the frenzy of the war-mongers and continue their struggles for a regime of peace and justice in this world?

Hundreds of millions all over the world perceived Indira Gandhi as fearless expression of the unconquerable spirit of freedom and dignity. By her courage she inspired them in their battles against oppression and tyranny. How can this spirit wither away as long as these millions continue to fight heroically and unflinchingly?

Indira Gandhi will reside in the hearts of these hundreds of millions of men and women for generations to come. She will continue to lead them

IV
Homage from Indian Press

Once again the light has been snuffed out. Once again the country has been plunged into darkness. The blow is even heavier and crueler this time than on January 30, 1948. Then there were other stalwarts, Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel, who could steer the nation to safety. Now there is no one to step into her place. . .

Indira Gandhi was not just India's Prime Minister. She was the hope of the country in the turbulent period ahead. So much hinged on her. Independent India has never been so orphaned.

Her critics were as dependent on her presence as were her admirers. If the supporters needed her to keep the flag flying and to serve as a rallying point, the detractors needed her as a scapegoat and as a formidable opponent to defeat whom they could at least attempt to come togther. Indira Gandhi has been the single most important point of reference for close to two decades for the Indian people—since she was first elected to the office of Prime Minister in early 1966. Her assassination eliminates that reference point. We cannot but feel lost.

—The Times of India

...the enormity committed in New Delhi on Wednesday morning clearly indicates a total betrayal of the legacy bequeathed to us by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru: the grim implications of this rejection must not be overlooked. For the time being, however, all

she articulated her concern about the danger of a nuclear war in which the whole of mankind would be annihilated.

— Deccan Herald

One of the world's greatest leaders of all time has fallen to the assassin's bullet. The terrorists have silenced the voice of freedom and snuffed out the life of a courageous lady who carried the cross on behalf of millions of people of the Third World, and stood up fearlessly to challenges from neocolonialism and imperialism.

As head of the non-aligned group, her sustained effort at achieving world peace and advocacy of a just and fair deal to developing nations struggling to free themselves from economic exploitation produced good results. Her role in this respect has earned her international appreciation.

Indira Gandhi was the child to India's unfinished revolution on whose frail shoulders had fallen the responsibility of leading it to fruition. Her incomplete task has to be carried forward by her successors.

—The Daily

She died as she lived—taking danger as her constant companion. And she left behind a nation not only benumbed with searing sorrow but engulfed in insensate fratricidal violence, threatening the very unity of the country to defend which she faced martyrdom.

This is not the moment to undertake an objective appraisal of Indira Gandhi's contribution towards building modern India or her role in world affairs. Future historians will undertake this task, a difficult task because hers was a career crowded with events of unmitigated severity as well as unalloyed glory. Few were her moments of repose, for she more than anybody else went among the largest segment of India's seven hundred millions covering the length and breadth of this far-flung country. It was an endless odyssey no other leader of her times has undertaken.

—Mainstream

And what a woman! A woman whom millions called 'mata,' 'amma.' A woman who was the only man who, during the past near two decades, gave us the right to call ourselves a nation, to hold our heads high, to feel confident that we can weather any storm, internal or external, so long as she was guiding our destinies.

And it is a tragedy of tragedies that this woman was killed by those who claim their inspiration from one of the greatest men of peace and compassion that this country has produced, one of the wisest savants who preached universal brotherhood—Guru Nanak Dev.

It is almost as if we turned the 'guru' into a 'dev' so that we could deify his world with nonchalance. This is what every religion that has sprung up in the name of one or other seer has done over the years, turn him into an idol and badger the ideals he stood for and often died for.

Indira Gandhi was not a seer. She never claimed herself to be one. She was only a leader, a great leader for most of us.

—Current

Her martyrdom will remind everyone of another dark episode in our history 36 years ago.

Gandhiji had been forewarned; so was Indira Gandhi. Both knew that murderers were about. But they were undaunted. They refused to submit to terror and deviate from their chosen path of opposing sectarianism, separatism and religious bigotry.

It is too early to make a guess about her place in history. She was India's leader, the only leader whom the six hundred million people of this country knew and of whom they had heard. She was also the best-known leader of the Third World and, fittingly, the chairperson of the Non-Aligned Movement. She gave back Indians their self-respect and the country the prestige it had lost after the border war with China. She fought for peace, democracy and equal rights of nations, and never hesitated to stand up to the mightiest in the world in defence of what she believed to be right and just.

—Amrita Bazar Patrika

The void created in national life by the brutal assassination of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, by her own security guards in her own official residence is one that millions of Indians are going to find it extremely difficult to accept, or adjust to. Across the nation that is in reality a sub-continent, it is already clear that the tragedy has hit the common people as a close personal bereavement does, that is also mixed with anger, shame and a foreboding of a time of troubles - or at least one of confusion and uncertainty in a political sense.

The Hindu shares the nation's deep grief, its sense of anger and disorientation, its resolute condemnation of the fanaticism and violence that struck down Mrs. Gandhi, its homage to a tenacious, battle-scarred

The Chinese Press gave extensive coverage of Mrs. Gandhi's death. The only English language newspaper **China Daily** gave a lead story with a three column headline. The **People's Daily**, organ of the Chinese Communist Party, carried two stories on Mrs. Gandhi on the front page.

(Courtesy: All India Radio)

VI
What She Stood For

Indianness

India is respected outside because of its tradition of tolerance. With competitive politics tolerance has become one of the casualties. Our religious festivals which used to be observed by all people, all communities, have in many areas of the country become sources of tension and concern. My own view, which I have stated many times, is that no Indian should feel unwanted or unwelcome in any part of our country. And I think this is enshrined in our Constitution. Every Indian regardless of caste, religion, language or region, should be able to participate fully in every sphere of national activity in every part of our country. That is the objective towards which we have to work.

National unity is a historical process. In India the concept of a nation state transcends, as I have said earlier, religious, regional and other affiliations. It is the product of our freedom movement in which all communities, all religions and all people have participated. The consolidation of this national unity in the post-independence era is a major achievement. In the historical perspective, bonds have been cemented by the participation of different communities and followers of different religions in the political process. Unfortunately attention is narrowly focussed on tensions, incidents of violence and so on, ignoring the longer term processes making for integration or a feeling of togetherness. I think, all of you know that even in advanced countries

The British domestic news agency Press Association has said that despite political differences with Mrs. Gandhi, the British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, had a special warm regard for her. The British Broadcasting Corporation described Mrs. Gandhi's murder as vicious, barbaric and terrible.

Pravda and Soviet newspapers reported in detail about what it described as the treacherous assassination of the world leader of the Indian people. Newspapers in Moscow front-paged a black bordered photograph showing the Soviet leaders Mr. Chernenko, Mr. Gromyko and Mr. Solomentsev standing reverently before a photograph of Mrs. Gandhi. The papers also carried the address to the nation by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi calling for restraint and calm.

Sovyetskaya Rossia, a respected central newspaper, described Mrs. Gandhi as the glorious daughter of a great people. The Soviet television showed movie clips of the heartrending scenes outside the All India Institute of Medical Sciences where Mrs. Gandhi breathed her last. The Soviet news agency TASS called the assassination as perfidious and villainous.

Americans were shocked and outraged over the assassination of Indira Gandhi. The National Broadcasting Corporation network began its morning bulletin with the words "shocking news". It was the lead story in most channels of American television and radio networks. The newspapers gave it banner headlines.

The **Wall Street Journal** said Mrs. Gandhi's assassination marks the passing of an extraordinary leader and the beginning of a dangerous political passage for the world's largest democracy. It warned that terrorism of this sort rarely does achieve any legitimate goals.

The **Baltimore Sun** said in its editorial that Mrs. Gandhi has been among the world's giants. She proved only too well her indispensability.

The Executive Editor of the **New York Times,** Abe Rosenthal, appeared on television to acknowledge what he called his passionate love for India. In his editorial he referred to the assassination attempts of world leaders in the recent past and deplored that this time in New Delhi assassins claimed a world leader, Indira Gandhi, and forced a new crisis on India's democracy. The editorial expressed the hope that India will survive the tragedy and perhaps learn a new lesson.

The Columbia Broadcasting Service network replayed Mrs. Gandhi's interview last May where she said India has all the religions of the world and they have lived peacefully together for centuries.

Pakistani newspapers across the nation mourned the death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and urged better relations between South Asian nations.

The Karachi-based **The Dawn** has said that Mrs. Gandhi provided India a decisive leadership at a time when it needed it and this was her

greatest asset as a leader. The paper also said that Mrs. Gandhi's violent death has shaken the country.

The state-owned **Pakistan Times** has remarked that one cannot but feel sad at the turn of events whatever its motive and from wherever it may emanate. Violence in politics cannot be countenanced.

The Urdu daily **Nawa-e-Waqt** of Lahore says one cannot see any leader of Mrs. Gandhi's national stature after her death. Another newspaper **Jung** said it was unfortunate that Mrs. Gandhi fell a victim to violence.

In Nepal, the widely circulated Kathmandu English daily **Rising Nepal** has deplored the cruel, cold-blooded assassination. The Nepali paper **Gorkha Patra** announced her death with a black border.

In Sri Lanka, the privately-owned daily **The Sun** said that the hail of bullets that cut down the charismatic 66-year-old Indian leader left millions of people shocked. The **Daily News** of Sri Lanka said, so long as Mrs. Gandhi was alive we were assured of her restraining influence. The Communist Party daily **Aththa** described Mrs. Gandhi as Asia's sentry and said her blood can be atoned by striving to build the India she sought.

A stunned Africa received the sad news of the assassination with shock and disbelief. Several radio stations across the continent interrupted their regular services to announce the death of Mrs. Gandhi who was revered by the African leaders.

The **Jakarta Post** has, in an editorial, said once again the light has gone out of the lives of millions of Indians.

The Philippines news agency, PNA, says her death was a big blow to the cause of peace and social justice.

Kampuchea's official SPK news agency praised Mrs. Gandhi for her contribution to the restructuring of Kampuchea after the Khmer Rouge massacres.

Japanese newspapers prominently featured stories on Mrs. Gandhi's assassination. **Japan Times** said she was not only the powerful Prime Minister of India but also an influential leader of the world's non-aligned countries.

Japan's largest daily **Yomiuri Shimbun** asked the super powers how they would now respond to the series of calls and demands Mrs. Gandhi had made. The newspaper also referred to Mrs. Gandhi's demand for a comprehensive nuclear arms control pact. The newspaper has recalled that Mrs. Gandhi as a third world leader steered those nations towards global peace and strove to improve North-South relations by diminishing the gap between the advanced industrial nations and developing countries.

political warrior fallen at her post, and the renewal of its commitment to democratic values, institutions and practices.

—The Hindu

The mortal remains of Indira Gandhi have been consigned to flames. But her memory will endure in millions of human hearts and in the world annals as a martyr in the cause of unity and security of India. Organiser joins the nation in mourning the loss of the great daughter of Mother India.

—Organiser

V
Tributes from World Press

The shock waves that swept the world after Mrs. Gandhi's assassination are clearly reflected in the media reactions pouring in from all directions.

Newspapers came out with black-bordered editions, editorials and front page photographs and obituaries. Radio and television networks devoted prime-time programmes to the dastardly act and its aftermath. Cutting across political and geographical barriers, the world press was unanimous in its praise for Mrs. Gandhi's qualities of leadership.

Along with it is a deep concern about India's ability to withstand the brutal shock and emerge stronger, toughened from the jolt.

Deploring the assassination of Mrs. Gandhi, the British press paid tributes to her as a leader of world stature and warned of potential dangers facing India after her death. The liberal **Guardian** in an editorial says, the international sense of desolation is not merely because of the fact that the largest democracy has lost its elected leader. It indicates Mrs. Gandhi's status as a world leader.

The **Financial Times** says, for nearly two decades, she personified India and the world will be a poorer place without her. **The Times** paid her the rare tribute of a full page obituary. In an editorial the paper compared Mrs. Gandhi's murder to that of Mahatma Gandhi.

In an article carried by **Daily Mail,** the well-known writer V.S. Naipaul praised Mrs. Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru for leading the young Indian nation through an industrial and intellectual revolution.

with longer histories of independent nationhood, integration is a continuing process.

We have to guard against any factor which weakens our unity. We need a broad national consensus on how to do this in a country as vast and diverse as ours. Ideas, processes, practices and tactics for any narrow advantage which encourage divisive sentiments have to be discouraged and curbed. It is not merely a matter of laws; we have enough laws, and we have found that no matter how many laws we make, loopholes can always be found in them. It is a question of broad political convictions and attitudes. Even more important is action in various fields—political, social, educational, media, etc.

Unity

We got independence because people of all religions, all provinces and all communities were united. There was only one objective—freedom of the country. Freedom is our birthright. Today we have different issues before us. During those days, we had only one objective and we fought for it. Today, we have to preserve the independence thus gained and the efforts for this cannot be less arduous. The obstacles, the barriers, the dangers and the threats we faced during those days are all present even today, though in different shapes. Some people say that I talk of these external dangers in order to divert the people's attention from the domestic issues. There cannot be a greater misunderstanding than this, because we cannot maintain the solidarity of the nation and solve our problems without knowing fully the travails the country is confronted with and the difficulties that people of all walks of life are facing. We are glad that we are free, but our hearts today are not full of joy. We have sorrows and anxieties. We are sad because we have not learnt the lessons of our history. We are sad because such forces are again raising their head which may endanger the unity of the country by spreading poison. I should like to remind you that communal disturbances, which take place in the name of religion and cost lives of numerous innocent people and lead to destruction of property, are not communal alone, though they appear to be so. Behind these are political and economic considerations and narrowness of mind.

Democracy

India has stood for freedom. Even before Independence we viewed our own struggle and difficulties on the larger canvas of global problems. If

democracy is basically tolerance for others' opinions, the concept of coexistence is democracy on the international plane, for it embodies tolerance of other nations and systems. Similarly non-alignment gives depth to our independence and self-reliance for it enables us to retain our freedom of judgement and action on international issues in the light of our national interests. We avoid involvement in the conflicts and disputes of others and this helps to blunt conflict between power blocs. I should like to think that it has also helped world stability.

A country is an extended family. When income and resources are limited, one must budget to ensure that essential items are not neglected—waste has to be avoided, resources husbanded, priorities established, education and other social needs catered for, with special provision for those who are weaker or smaller. Industry has to be balanced with agriculture; technology with culture; State ventures with private initiative; economic growth with social justice; the large with the small. Every section of society must be stimulated to creative activity.

That is our planning. In no way is it totalitarian or coercive. We try to take the largest possible number with us at every stage. Industrializing, modernizing and transforming an ancient society of immense size, population and diversity is a daunting venture and, inevitably, a gradual one. In a democracy particularly, but even in other systems, the pace of transformation cannot be faster than its acceptance by the public. Otherwise there will be resentment, which not only obstructs the process but could actually push it backwards. History has several such examples. Transformation should not cause too much dislocation or suffering for the people nor should it jettison the basic spiritual and cultural values of our civilization.

India's planning experience sums up the successes and problems of our democractic development. The magnitude and significance of democracy's operation in India are not well understood, for it is often treated as an adventitious or borrowed growth. Why has democracy worked in India? Our national leadership was dedicated to it and we wanted it to work, but also because in our society there were elements and traditions which supported the growth of democracy, notwithstanding some other traditions that militated against it.

In our democratic system, there may be differences in many spheres but we rise above them. To achieve the objective of keeping the country united, we have to transcend political and party-based differences, which create dissensions between one another. If we cannot remain united and the country does not remain strong, with whom shall we have differences? Against whom shall we fight? With whom shall we make friendship, if nobody exists? Brothers and sisters, if the country falls, nobody survives. When we were fighting for the freedom of our country,

it did not mean only political freedom. It also meant social justice, equality and economic justice. Only one phase is over and another one is under way. We have to cover a long and difficult path. Whereas the enemies were visible during those days, now they are in disguise. Some of them are open enemies, but many become unintentional pawns of others.

Development

Our main problem areas, which need concerted attention in the immediate future, are food, energy and certain infrastructure products, such as steel and cement, coal and power.

It is generally admitted that the growth rate of our cereal production compares favourably with that of most countries. Our emphasis now should be to reduce the magnitude of output fluctuations in bad years. The area under irrigation must be increased. Investment in public irrigation is our foremost task and has to be executed with vigour.

As regards edible oils, sugar and cotton, proper planning of the area under different crops, varietal improvements, and increasing the intensity of land use through multiple cropping have to be emphasised. The Planning Commission is looking into the details.

In energy, we have achieved some success in increasing oil discovery and production. But oil has become a most expensive commodity and we can ill afford to waste any in non-essential or unnecessary consumption. New sources of energy must be developed and far greater encouragement given to Research and Development because their long-term pay off is of immense value.

Coal can substitute for oil to some extent. We achieved some increase in coal production from 1972 to 1976, but this has not been kept up. The question is not merely of our investment but also of proper planning and organisation.

In electricity, steel, cement, non-ferrous metals and other infrastructual items, production from installed capacity must be maximised by good management and price policy. Capacity has to be expanded to match the growing requirements of our economy. The internal resource generation of these units has to increase substantially, preferably through greater production and more efficient operations. In addition, Plan funds need to be mobilised and invested. If infrastructure industries work well, and railways, shipping, ports and communication function better, the entire economy will get a forward thrust.

At the moment we face a large balance of payments gap which has been imposed on us largely by world developments, such as recession in advanced industrial economies, and rise in the prices of oil and many

other essential products such as steel, machinery, etc.

There may have been some laxity in the import of goods which are obtainable here but, by and large, we have allowed imports only of essential items. Extra production is the key to minimising the import bill.

Export promotion is another way of closing the payments gap. Exports should be raised, concentrating rather on relatively high value items. In a large economy, when export constitutes a small fraction of the national income, the notion of export-led growth is hardly relevant. During the first half of the 1970s our exports grew at a high rate and there is no doubt that the performance can be repeated and improved. No longer is there the export pessimism of the 1950s. Our policies and plan strategies have enabled us to build a mature enough industrial structure to compete internationally and to generate exports in all kinds of manufactured items to many countries in Africa, America, Asia and Europe.

Technology is the base of economic progress. Where we do not have it, we must import, always bearing in mind that such imports should lead to the growth of indigenous technology. Where necessary, foreign technology has to be absorbed and used through our own research and development efforts to build our self-reliance.

Secularism

India belongs equally to Hindus and Muslims, Christians and Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains, Parsis and others. All of them have equal rights and must get equal respect and protection. Sikhism itself was born as a faith to bring together people of different religions. The life of Guru Nanak Dev symoblised tolerance. The great Guru taught love and brotherhood. The moral of the Granth Sahib is truth and kindliness. In the long and glorious age of national independence, Punjab and the Sikhs made a shining contribution. Let not a minuscule minority among the Sikhs be allowed to trample under foot civilised norms for which Sikhism is well known, and to tarnish the image of a brave and patriotic community.

Dangers always exist in a country. In a country of diversities of religions and languages, beliefs and traditions, internal rivalries are quite natural to an extent. But we have never considered diversities to be a symbol of weakness. On the contrary, diversities enrich us, and add to the picturesqueness of our society. We do not want any religion or tradition to be curtailed. Everyone should be able to follow his own path. But all the paths should merge in the ocean of Indianness, as the rivers merge into the sea. The synthesis of different beliefs and traditions constitutes Indianness. We must follow our faiths sincerely and should not impose ourselves on people not belonging to our own faith. If the

people follow their faiths sincerely, they will prove better citizens. No religion preaches violence. Every religion urges brotherhood, love and compassion. If the country follows this path, we shall be able to build a new society.

Economic Programme

There is no magic that can benefit all these 700 million people immediately. The 20-Point Programme was initiated only recently. Employment has been arranged through it and successes have been achieved in providing employment to a good number of youngmen, rural as well as urban. Progress has also been made in providing loans as well as in other fields. I know there are shortcomings. I know that some people have made mistakes.

Soon the Seventh Plan will be launched. The objectives of this Plan are: food, employment and productivity. All these are interrelated. If production does not increase, there cannot be employment as also food. To achieve these objectives, we have placed adequate funds exclusively for the purpose. This will strengthen further the foundations of our country. Simultaneously, we have to help each other.

Defence

We have always believed in science and technology as instruments for rapid economic growth to meet our national priorities. Our priorities must be for agriculture, industry, eradication of poverty, none of which can take place unless there is security for the country and hope in the hearts of our people. Unfortunately, not everybody has thought of science in the same way and that is why we also have to devote science to methods of protection which involve also destruction. I am sorry to say, much as we would have liked to avoid that contingency, we cannot remain passive spectators, watching this proliferation of tactical and strategic weapons and we have to do all we can to obtain them indigenously.

We know that our scientists and technologists are as capable of developing advanced technologies as their counterparts elsewhere. This is reflected in our success in the development of tanks, sonars, torpedoes, electronic systems and jet engines. However, we have a long long way to go and these islands of achievement, isolated instances of successes, should become universal and spread to other areas of our industrial development. Our efforts to become self-reliant in defence should lead to a coherent national development.

As a nation, we stand for peace and work for peace and stability everywhere in the world. Only in conditions of peace can the full human potential blossom. But these aspirations cannot cloud the reality of our very troubled world. It is vital for us to be able to reconcile our considerable defence requirements with the imperatives of development and our capacity to manufacture the equipment we require, and also the cost we can afford. In spite of the views and efforts of all the littoral states, the Indian Ocean has been converted into an arena of great-power rivalry. Thus our Navy's responsibility has increased enormously. It has to be fully equipped and made capable of dealing with any contingency.

Environment

The environmental problems of developing countries are not the side effects of excessive industrialisation but reflect the inadequacy of development. The rich countries may look upon development as the cause of environmental destruction, but to us it is one of the primary means of improving the environment for living, or providing food, water, sanitation and shelter; of making the deserts green and the mountains habitable. The research and perseverance of dedicated people have given us an insight which is likely to play an important part in the shaping of the future plans. We see that however much man hankers after material goods they can never give him full satisfaction. Thus the higher standard of living must be achieved without alienating people from their heritage and without despoiling Nature of its beauty, freshness and purity so essential to our lives.

One cannot be truly human and civilised unless one looks upon not only all fellow-men but all creation with the eyes of a friend. Throughout India, edicts carved on rocks and iron pillars are reminders that twenty-two centuries ago the Emperor Ashoka defined a king's duty as not merely to protect citizens and punish wrongdoers but also to preserve animal life and forest trees. Ashoka was the first and perhaps the only monarch until very recently to forbid the killing of a large number of species of animals for sport or food. He went further, regretting the carnage of his military conquests and enjoining upon his successors to find "their only pleasure in the peace that comes through righteousness".

It is sad that in country after country, progress should become synonymous with an assault on Nature. We who are a part of Nature and dependent on her for every need, speak constantly about "exploiting" Nature. When the highest mountain in the world was climbed in 1953,

Jawaharlal Nehru objected to the phrase "conquest of Everest" which he thought was arrogant. Is it surprising that this lack of consideration and the constant need to prove one's superiority should be projected onto our treatment of our fellow men? I remember Edward Thompson, a British writer and a good friend of India, once telling Mr. Gandhi that wild life was fast disappearing. Remarked the Mahatma—"It is decreasing in the jungles but it is increasing in the towns!"

Some people still consider concern for the environment an expensive and perhaps unnecessary luxury. But the preservation of the environment is an economic consideration since it is closely related to the depletion, restoration and increase of resources. In any policy decision and its implementation we must balance present gains with likely damage in the not too distant future. Human ecology needs a more comprehensive approach.

I began with an assertion of independence. The time has come to assess to what extent pressures are building up, how international institutions are being used to make us change our policies to directions which are not only against our own judgement and interest but may even defeat the purposes which these very institutions have in mind.

Science and Technology

Science is as old as time itself. It is a search, starting with the instinct of self-survival; it is man's desire to stretch his awareness, to question and probe and know about himself and his environs.

Statecraft and science have had intimate relations from the beginning. The fate of kingdoms and dynasties has been influenced by the skill of royal physicians. Some time before Archimedes's inventive genius was enlisted to defend Syracuse, a major work of governance was written by Kautilya in India. He described at length the duties of governmental functionaries in relation to mining, metallurgy, assay of coins, maintaining the purity of gold, forest produce, agriculture, classification of land, public health and so on. A historian has commented: "By going through the book, a modern reader will get the impression that science and technology received the fullest possible attention and utilization, through the establishment of several departments charged with one or many technical subjects, for efficiently running the governmental administration. Will it be an exaggeration to say that some kind of a science policy existed in India during the time of the **Arthashastra**?"

I am often asked why India should concern itself with advanced areas of science like atomic energy and space instead of concentrating on agriculture, elementary sanitation and the like, which are the obvious

needs of our people. We are taunted about wanting to fly when we cannot feed! Our answer is simple: work in these advanced fields is of immense practical benefit—even necessity—for us. This is not vainglory. Our space effort is important for education and communication and deeper knowledge of the monsoon, which rules our economic calendar. The ground can be better mapped from the sky for programmes of mineralogical investigation. From oceanography we can augment our food and mineral resources. Our experience in oil exploration teaches us the inescapable need for homegrown expertise. Biogenetics open out vast possibilities. There is no conflict between basic and applied research. In fact some of the experiments which started out as pure research have led to discoveries of remedies of common ills, or items of production affecting the daily lives of millions. Technolgists go to affluent countries, tempted by higher pay, greater comfort or better facilities of pursuing their specializations. They constitute the reverse economic aid given by the weak to the strong. But the larger number of the talented do remain and it is our obligation to help them to participate in the adventure of transforming our society.

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Much is said about promoting a scientific spirit. Now we have not really succeeded in this at all. And I don't mean here just superstition but something else. There is a way of thinking, a way of working, which we have to bring about. If we cannot cut through superstition, let us use superstition for it. Most of the superstitions that we have grown up with, many of the so-called religious tenets, were brought up for very practical reasons. It is much easier to say 'God wishes it' than 'I wish it'. So whether you put it in the mouth of God, or the very minor gods and goddesses, it doesn't matter so long as you can give people in a particular area what they need.

People are not statistics; they are human beings; they are individuals; they differ from area to area and within each area; and if we want any programme to succeed, such as the scientific spirit or population control, we have to see what is going to excite or involve those people. What will involve a group in Tamil Nadu will not involve a group in Garhwal, for instance. What will have meaning for them? Is it some local legend? Is it some local superstition or is it something else? Now we should be willing to use these things and turn them from being superstitious into something that is socially useful.

Real scientific thinking is to be on the look-out for new ideas, new methods, new inventions, all the time, in every direction, even using the old if it is useful. Of course, if it isn't useful then you reject it. But where the people are hanging on to something, unless you can give it a turn, you will not be able to give it up. No broom is going to sweep all of it away.

There is no specific project which is not linked in some way with others. Hence the concern of scientists should not remain confined to their own fields of specialization or the projects in which they are directly involved. Coordination and team-work on an interdisciplinary basis among scientists themselves and with those engaged in planning and production are essential. Scientists should take greater interest in planning which is, after all, the application of science and reason to national problems. We would welcome their views as to how to incorporate their suggestions in our Seventh Plan. The time to do so is now. Exercises on the objectives and contours of our Seventh Plan have begun. It has to be launched in April and must carry forward the modernization of our agriculture and industry and enable us to get the optimum from investments made and capacities already built, focusing on the direct alleviation of poverty.

For know-how in most areas of advanced technology, developing countries have to pay a price, economically, and politically. All too often what is sold is old. Basic and detailed know-why is not disclosed. In atomic science, the nuclear powers, who are steadily increasing their own stockpiles, are diverting attention to the so-called dangers of horizontal proliferation. Any assistance in that field is circumscribed by numerous kinds of restrictions which go under the name of safeguards.

India's policy, evolved by Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Homi Bhabha, has been to develop a self-reliant, homegrown nuclear capability for peaceful and developmental purposes. Our first nuclear reactors were built in Tarapur and Kota with foreign assistance. After our peaceful nuclear experiment in 1974, the Canadians withdrew their assistance and we had to proceed on our own. The power stations at Kalpakkam stand out as a milestone in self-reliance. This shows that Indian science and technology can undertake the most sophisticated projects.

However, a few islands of expertise and a few showpieces do not take us far as a modern nation. Science must permeate the whole of our national life, all areas of endeavour, and all regions. Otherwise, it will only accentuate disparities within the country, as indeed it has done between countries in the last 200 years, helping the relatively strong, and making existence more difficult for the poor. Science should be an innovative and liberating force, an ally of social justice. In my encounters with scientists I ask them to be partners in the development process in India and to think of today as well as of tomorrow.

The quality of the scientific effort arises in the atmosphere which the scientific community makes for itself an atmosphere of openness, of magnanimity, of recognition of merit and quality wherever and whenever found, of trust, of objective and rational thinking, of unselfishness, and team work. Quality must be recognized and cultivated as something precious.

A large country like India
must act with an inner conviction of its strength. I have tried to devote my life to build a tolerant India, a secular India and a peaceful India.

I wish to continue to work for it and devote all my energy
for it and, if necessary, die for it. Let us not be bogged down in petty squabbles which diminish the
nation. Let us deploy our strength to face the issues which affect the long-term interests of our people.

— Indira Gandhi



Let us not shed blood, let us shed hatred

—Indira Gandhi

To us Indians, the Himalayas are not just a great mountain range. They are an inseparable part of the very Indian consciousness, standing for eternal values.

—*Indira Gandhi*





Rural India thirsts for science. Rural India has immense potential for scientists to use what is available not only in human talent but in the material that is found in the plant life or in the talents of the people. Our scientists must respond to these needs. I do not want to restrict their work in other fields; far from it. But unless some people, some scientists look to the immediate and use what is available, it will be more difficult for science in the higher reaches. Today we have very eminent scientists, some of whom you have seen and others whom you have not; but they are just the tip of a tree and unless the trunk and the roots of that tree are strengthened, it is more difficult to produce larger number of scientists and other people who can take the entire country forward as well as add to universal knowledge.

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There are many divisions in our world. The most glaring is the disparity between the technologically developed and developing. The growth of science is said to be exponential. I wonder if we can ever close this gap. Science and technology have become the means for economic power and also for military power. In an unequal world they are forces for domination and exploitation. The only way to avoid this is through the development of indigenous capabilities in science and technology in all communities and in all parts of the world, and through growing international cooperation in science. Self-reliance is good for every country, but for a country of our size and circumstances it is indispensable. It is the only basis on which there can be non-exploitative international cooperation. We can participate in such cooperation only to the extent that we are able to adapt and assimilate what we need from outside, while striving for original ideas and work ourselves.

The guidance that we seek from science is how to enable men and women to use their own capacities and inner resources to the utmost.

Self-reliance ultimately is scientific self-reliance. Our scientists should have the opportunity to go as far as their ability takes them. Historically it cannot be assumed that the present political or economic divisions are immutable, or that the kaleidoscope of time will not alter the configuration. Scientists from developing countries should not be denied the opportunity of making or contributing to important technological discoveries and additions to scientific knowledge. Our structures, though much criticized and in many ways inadequate, have nevertheless produced young scientists and technologists with minds capable of absorbing the new and of probing into ultimate abstractions in different areas of science. Many Indians, educated and trained in India, are working in the West in frontier areas of science and have been involved in important discoveries. Their contribution to the advance of science has

not been assessed. That is why advice regarding "appropriate" technology is so often inappropriate.

Jawaharlal Nehru recognised long ago that political freedom would be incomplete without economic independence, and that economic independence would be beyond our grasp without scientific self-reliance. National laboratories and central institutes were established because national problems needed home-grown answers. This does not obviate the desirability of acquiring, adopting, adapting and absorbing knowledge through technology transfer. We could not have attained self-sufficiency in food had we not imported foreign strains of wheat and rice and fully Indianised them. Similarly, in industry, we now have considerable indigenous fabricating and designing capacity. Having reached a stage of self-reliance, we can and should avail ourselves of more advanced foreign technology without jeopardising self-reliance.

At this point of time it is necessary for government departments and industries to evolve improved procedures and also in giving special facilities for the weakest, but we must also emphasise excellence and due reward for the best and the most able. Our nation cannot prosper unless we enable our people to put their best efforts for collective advancement. You all know that by splitting the atom you can move mountains. Social reformers and political revolutionaries have found that by releasing the latent power even in the poorest and the most helpless of individuals, you can generate the power to move a nation from one age to another. This is basically what we are trying to do in India and it is for this that we want the help of all social workers.

Our scientific manpower, so impressive in number and quality will be of little avail if it does not prepare us for the future and does not find answers to the inherited and also the new problems. Innovative thinking is what the scientific community recognises as basic research as well as the quest for new ideas in using knowledge.

As a government we have tried to lay firm foundations of science. We have not yet wholly succeeded in providing facilities or a general climate which gives full encouragement to intellecutal unquiry. One problem is that managerial careers, being so much more remunerative, attract brilliant young people. The glamour of America and Europe also dazzles. Leaders of science must find a way out. Grant-givers tend to relate allocations to tangible results. In basic research, results are not measurable. As Whitehead once said, modern science demands some wandering. He probably meant that scientists must have the freedom to pursue fresh trail of thought. I hope that scientific leaders, on whose advice grants are given, will be sensitive to young and non-conformist talent.

University research has its own relevance and must be strengthened; for there it is that young scientists are found and formed. They should be helped to shoulder some of the responsibilities for basic research.

Energy

Urgent action is needed in the following areas:

(i) The application of new biological advances on biomass production, e.g., tissue culture, protoplast fusion, genetic engineering, nitrogen fixation, improved photosynthesis, etc., particularly on lands not suitable for agriculture.

(ii) Photochemical technique to produce hydrogen (basically from water) to be used as mobile fuel.

(iii) Energy storage devices to make transportation less dependent on oil.

(iv) Photovoltaic devices to provide electricity directly from sunlight costing 10 to 100 times less than today.

(v) Integrated energy systems to optimally meet a variety of needs.

All living forms, from the smallest micro-organism to the largest mammal, depend on the energy of the sun. They have a myriad complex mechanisms to gather energy, store and use it. The smallest cell of the tiniest organism holds an enormous magnitude of information, and of programmes of learning and application which are as yet unmatched by the largest of computers. Modern biology is trying to understand the chemical and physical basis of these extraordinary functions. Genetic engineering and biotechnology give hope for transferring and combining many capabilities into convenient life forms. Tiny microelectronic devices are also making rapid strides to provide reliable modes of process regulation. The combination of these two separate streams of science and technology may provide new routes for very high utilization of solar energy through natural and newly designed photosynthesis. The hydrocarbon of the future need no longer be fossil fuel to be unearthed and processed but might well be one available continuously from our rooftops or gardens. While we wait for the day when we can simulate controlled fusion that generates the energy of the sun and stars, we might also find new ways of harnessing solar energy.

Education

Education is essential for all sections of the society. We can have uniform development only when those who, for one reason or another,

have been deprived are enabled to catch up with the rest. The concept of education is a changing and widening one. It should combine the acquisition of knowledge with the capacity of using it and adapting it to specific situations without being alienated from cultural roots. We must take pride in our civilization and our cultural heritage. Education should not divide but bring people together. It is historically incorrect to label periods of our history after religious denominations. The craftsmen and workers who built New Delhi were the descendents of those who created the Suraj Kund and the Jama Masjid. They were from all the religious groups of their time. The aim of education, particularly of school children, should be to develop integrated personalities, and this is possible only if we have an integrated view of our own cultural traditions. No aspect of our civilization is the exlusive preserve of any one group. India's heritage of 5000 years is the legacy of all humankind.

Education does not mean only refining manual, vocational and intellectual skills. Essentially, it is a process of deepening the spirit. We are a secular society—secular not in the sense that we are materialists but in the sense that we respect every individual's and every group's right to practise its own religion and form of worship. Actually I wonder if it is right to think of education in terms of Muslim, Christian or Hindu education. One can have religious teaching and indeed the inculcation of certain moral and spiritual values is essential but the foundation of education should be national and of a high level. Muslim educational institutions would naturally want their students to know more about Islam. At the same time all our children should be acquainted with all the great religions of the world, and also realize that it is the nature of knoweldge to grow. The Prophet himself laid great stress on the acquiring of knowledge and this was the inspiration which led the early Muslims to their great scientific and cultural achievements. Now, the need for scientific attainment is greater than ever before.

It is through education that women can stand on their own feet and contribute to the nation and to society in many different ways. They must have independence of spirit. I should like to emphasize that I do not believe that you can get it by fighting. The Women's Lib Movement in America, for instance, has gone through many phases but after all those phases it has almost taken a circle and decided that women are women, they do not want to imitate men, they have distinctive personalities and those personalities should be given full play, full opportunity without any discrimination because of sex or race or religion or caste or creed.

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Education is important for everybody, and education is something much wider than what you get in a school or a college. Life itself is one very big book. Everyday is a page or a paragraph. Now, all of you have

read books but what do the characters in books mean to you? They mean whatever you put in them. That is, each person will interpret a book or a character, as we do paintings, in quite a different way. True education is such as will give you the capacity to keep on learning from all your experiences.

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Education holds the key to human resource development, which is crucial for any meaningful and accelerated economic and social progress. The rapid spread of elementary education is an essential first step. The number of children attending schools in the age group of 6-14 years has grown over the years but the rate of growth—an average of 20 lakhs per year in the Fifth Plan period and about 28 lakhs last year is far too low and will have to be increased if an additional 7 crore children are to be brought into our schools in the next ten years. We are pledged to providing free and compulsory education for all children in the age group of 6-14 years by 1990. Special attention must be given to girls' education, to backward classes as well as the use of non-formal education. Efforts should also be made to cover the entire illiterate population of the age group of 15-35 years under the Adult Education and Literacy Programmes by 1990. I should like Chief Ministers to take personal interest in these matters and ensure that adequate Plan funds are identified for these programmes and that the funds so provided, and particularly so for elementary education, are not diverted to other purposes.

Technology Policy

Technological development needs clear guidelines especially as regards the growth of indigenous technology and the acquisition of technology from outside. I should like to .... place our Technology Policy Statement before the nation. We believe that technology must be based on our own culture and personality. The Statement underlines the premise that for a country of our size and endowments, self-reliance is inescapable and that the use and development of technology must relate to the people's needs and aspirations. At the same time it is vital to take advantage of advances elsewhere to conserve our own time and resources as well as to aid the expansion and diversification of our technology.

The main aims outlined by the Technology Policy Statement are:

(a) attain technological competence and self-reliance to reduce vulnerability, particularly in strategic and critical areas, making the maximum use of indigenous resources;

(b) provide the maximum gainful and satisfying employment to all strata of society, with emphasis on the employment of women and weaker sections of society;
(c) use traditional skills and capabilities, making them commercially competitive;
(d) ensure the correct mix between mass production technologies and production by the masses;
(e) ensure maximum development with minimum capital outlay;
(f) identify obsolescence of technology in use and arrange for modernization of both equipment and technology;
(g) develop technologies which are internationally competitive, particularly those with export potential;
(h) improve production speedily through greater efficiency and fuller utilization of existing capabilities and enhance quality and reliability of performance and output;
(i) reduce demands on energy, particularly energy from non-renewable sources;
(j) ensure harmony with the environment, preserve the ecological balance, and improve the quality of the habitat; and
(k) recycle waste material and make full utilization of byproducts.

Any policy will succeed only to the extent to which it evokes the enthusiasm, and involvement of our scientists and technologists, and imbues the people as a whole with greater self-assurance and pride in national achievement.

Communication Media

Through communication, individuals become communities and societies. Information is the centre of every human activity. Groups and classes have always wielded authority by restricting and denying the masses access to information and education. But the people have risen in counterattack against one monopoly after another. Thus were empires overthrown. Thus did oligarchies become democracies. The democratization of power structures within nations must be followed by the democratization of the international community. In this, communication has a function. We need to know more about one another and make a conscious effort to remove imbalance and disparity in getting information.

In the media of the West, indeed in our own and may be elsewhere, there is hardly any news about developing countries unless it be of disaster or disturbance. The stupendous task of development, the changes being brought about in our villages and our towns, amongst our

women, our workers, our farmers and others might as well be non-existent. Editors and media managers seem attached to the Northcliffe formula that power, position, money and sex make news—and that virtue, normality, hard work and humility don't. The meek may one day inherit the earth, but not the headlines.

One sided reporting and distorted news is an old story for us. My first taste of it was Miss Mayo's book 'Mother India' which I read, I can't remember whether it was in the late '20s or the early '30s. Today's media are equally adept at playing up the worst aspects, real, exaggerated or imaginary, in the developing countries. Many journalists consider it smart to imitate the popular Western definition of bad news being good news and are bored by constructive and developmental activity. A recent survey by our Press Council found that only 2 per cent of newspaper space is devoted to social issues. Is this what really interests readers? Are they content to remain ignorant of what is happening in various spheres, of what deepens their understanding, what helps them to discharge their duty as well-informed citizens?

The media should provide information, education and entertainment. How much of each depends on the nature of the medium and the policy of the persons who own and manage a particular agency. Traditonally a newspaper's first business is hard news, giving a balanced and intelligible accounts of events in the country and the world. Magazines deal more with opinion, interpretation, background, colour. Radio and television purvey a higher proportion of entertainment. The film even more so. Information truly informs when it manages to catch and hold attention, and entertainment at its best fulfils a larger purpose then merely filling time. The social purpose and function of the media are at the base of the principle of the freedom of the Press and freedom of information. But what is the reality? In our times, words do not always have the same meaning. Take democracy. Many of those who praise democracy have no compunction about supporting non-democratic forms when it suits them. And so with freedom. Freedom for whom? Many books and articles have appeared and are appearing on this subject. Not only opinion but news has become a weapon to project images, laudatory or condemnatory, according to predetermined strategy.

Apart from increasing their social awareness, the media have also to give them information which directly improves their economic capacity for example, information about the weather, about new techniques of farming, dairying, marketing and so on. Some years ago our programme of satellite-transmitted television for rural areas opened out new vistas to remoter villages. Groups so far untouched by newspapers and books, especially women of the poorer economic classes, were attracted to and influenced by community viewing sets. Television, like radio, provides

motivation for all-round development. So, investment in nationwide television is justified by its social benefits. Our space scientists took up the challenge and we have been able to put our own satellite into orbit. We have high hopes of its role in improving the quality of life for our rural areas and in reducing rural-urban disparities.

We support the idea of a New World Information and Communication Order because we believe that information strengthens the individual and gives greater social equality within and amongst nations. Some groups and nations attack the very concept, alleging that it is an infringement of freedom. But why should an information order be mistaken for ordered information? UNESCO and many of us have had to try hard to counter this propaganda barrage against this idea.

Books: Anything printed and bound in book size can be called a book, but the quality of mind distinguishes the value of it.

What is a book? This is how Anatole France describes it: "A series of little printed signs—essentially only that. It is for the reader to supply himself the forms and colours and sentiments to which these signs correspond. It will depend on him whether the book be dull or brilliant, hot with passion or cold as ice. Or if you prefer to put it otherwise, each word in a book is a magic finger that sets a fibre of our brain vibrating like a harp string and so evokes a note from the sounding board of our soul. No matter how skilful, how inspired, the artist's hand, the sound it makes depends on the quality of the strings within ourselves."

Until recently books were the preserve of a small section—the urban upper classes. Some even today make it a point to call themselves "intellectuals". It would be a pity if books were meant only for intellectuals and not for housewives, farmers, factory workers, artisans and so on.

The majority of our students in India are first-generation learners, whose parents might have been illiterate. This poses special challenges to our authors and to those who are entrusted with the task of disseminating knowledge. We need much more research in the use of language and the development of techniques by which knowledge can be transferred to these people without transmission loss.

Publishers should initiate campaigns to persuade people that a good book makes a beautiful present and that reading a good book can be the most relaxing as well as absorbing of pastimes. We should aim at books of quality no less than at quantitative expansion in production and sale. Unless one is constantly exposed to the best, one cannot develop a taste for the good.

Film: A good film, like any other good art, should be an experience.

Instead many of our films become time-killers. Those who kill time (it is just another way of saying wasting it) are really killing a part of themselves. For that time, and that opportunity of making better use of it, will never come again. I cannot understand how such a dramatic medium can miss so much of the drama all around us, not only amongst human beings but amongst animals and all of nature.

Traditional folk entertainment in our villages, the Yakshagana or the Kathakali or the Ramlila, have upheld our artistic tradition and value system over the centuries. They retain their purity. But some of our films have begun to corrupt this pond.

Cinema should not hesitate to learn from our experience and apply its lessons to the treatment of urban reality so that entertainment can go hand in hand with improving the quality of life.

The printing of books was a giant leap in human history. The published words drew not only the thoughts and ideas of our contemporary times but even of different periods into the orbit of our acquaintance.

Cinema and TV have added a spectacular new dimension. We have become neighbours and eye witnesses of all people and of every kind of event anywhere.

Good regional cinema has begun to challenge Hindi films and has generally given stimulus to the industry and exhibition of good and artistic regional films on an all-India basis is particularly important. Enduring national integration can take place only when we are able to create respect for and understanding of the cultures of all communities, all sections of our society and all regions.

The dubbing of quality regional films and their exhibition in other parts of our country will considerably help in this. This work has been neglected. Government and industry should together look into this aspect.

More theatres are needed, specially small ones, to show films to appreciative groups as a first step in reaching out to larger audiences.

I learn that the National Films Development Corporation is dealing with this.The spread of good cinema depends on the growth of film appreciation. The appreciation of art or indeed of anything of quality is not automatic. One is not born with good taste.

Taste for literature comes with education and familiarity with good books. The appreciation of good films will come from continued exposure to good cinema.

Film appreciation in schools and colleges and among the general public through regular courses and through film societies must keep pace with the increase in the number of cinema theatres.

Cinema today, even though it has strong rivals in TV and video, is the most important audio-visual manifestation of popular culture. So the

standards it sets guide the value systems and quality of life of millions of people.

Great writers and great film-makers have been deeply concerned with the problems of their time. We need to discourage superstition, intolerance and violence. We need to encourage the dignity of human beings, the status of women and the worth of labour. Also courage, humour and all the qualities which make a society vibrant and meaningful.

Children deserve special consideration. Special subjects and specialised treatment is needed.

Government is taking increasing interest in the growth of the film industry and the promotion of better cinema through the Film and TV Institute, the National Film Archive, the Children's Film Society and the National Film Development Corporation. It is also operating schemes such as the National Film Awards and International Film Festivals.

Radio & TV: From the beginning we have realised the importance of radio and television. By constant exposure to them we now know that we can understand things better through these media than by merely reading or hearing about them. These media add a completely new dimension to our understanding. They can therefore also help us in putting forward our ideas and ideals before the people. Even now we have not been able to make full use of radio. The use of television has been even more restricted. We have only one channel and limited time for broadcasting. With so many groups, and diverse languages and regional cultures, nobody is happy with the time devoted to their languages. Everyone has his or her own demand. Religious people want more time for religious programmes, young people want more of cinema songs, others want science programmes and so on. We symphathise with all these demands, but limitations of time on radio and television prevent us from meeting all these demands. As the number of channels increases, it will be possible to allot more time for the different languages and to put across a greater range of ideas to our people. Our ultimate aim is to renew our culture and tradition without losing our original moorings.

We need young people—whether they belong to Nagpur or any other part of the country—who look ahead and who can help us in raising the level of what is called software. Today we lag far behind in this regard. I am not ready to accept for a moment that our people lack ability. The capability is there, but the question is how to bring it out and make full use of it.

Women

I am very happy to see greater interest of and participation of women in all spheres of activity, especially entrepreneurship. I would like to say that I am not a feminist, because I believe that most of today's problems in the world and specially the problems in developing societies affect men and women. But we have to speak up for women because they have been suppressed. They have not been allowed to develop, to contribute in various spheres, in a world where they form half of the population. How can there be progress and development if that half is neglected and is not playing its full part, and its talents and abilities are not fully utilised to national and international purposes? That is why we speak up for women. We don't want to be regarded as separate species. We are human beings. All we say is: treat us as normal human beings.

Although women have come up in many spheres, it is true that society remains or rather clings to its man-made rules. Customs, habits, even language show the male point of view. Nowadays much literature is appearing on this subject and a study is being made. There is no doubt that a woman faces far greater resistance in coming up or in tackling any job than a man would. It is to their credit that they have been able to overcome this resistance. In India, as well as in developing countries as a whole, this has been achieved by and large with harmony and without any confrontation.

Women do have to work much harder and longer. Many roles are expected of them—responsibility for running their homes in addition to whatever they do professionally. We read in Madame Curie's life how much time she had to spend in the kitchen instead of in her laboratory for fear that her French mother-in-law would say that Polish girls cannot cook.

A situation where there is a general increase in opportunities of employment and advancement will automatically increase opportunities also for women. However, we must ensure that our laws and our practice do not discriminate against women.

There is a movement now for equal rights in many countries. In India, we can say that women have equal rights in law but in actual practice, private employers tend to pay less to women, although very often they do jobs of greater drudgery. If equal pay is demanded, then employment itself is stopped. But, generally speaking, we can say that we have lessened discrimination against women in India. Of course, we do not yet allow them in the defence forces.

In traditional occupations—farming, dairying, retail trade—women have always been prominent. In fisheries, there is a division of labour—men go out to sea, women take care of the marketing.

It is more in the so-called cultured classes that the notion grew up that women should not work. The economic pressures of urban life have changed much of this. In many places ageing parents find daughters to be more reliable supporters than sons. But the trouble in our country is that young people want jobs rather than opportunities for work.

I want to make it clear that I am not a feminist in the accepted definition of the word, but I am concerned with human beings and women are very much a part of the human race. I do not think that any society can progress if half its members do not have equal opportunity and their talents and capabilities are ignored. This is my interest in the women's movement.

Of course, women also have special problems. The special problems as well as the overall problems which affect the whole family and the whole community have to be dealt with. Gandhiji and many of our leaders pointed out the important part played by women. People in other countries also have emphasised that the woman is the real shaper of the future in the sense that she guides the younger generation. What a child imbibes in its earliest years is a lasting influence, and the earliest period of a person's life is spent with the mother and other women of the family. Besides the maternal role, women have a very important role in society.

Forestry

Forestry as a whole will gain with more exposure to foresty in universities. Forest colleges should open their doors to students from all disciplines. The problems of our people, particularly of tribals living in forests or villages adjacent to sanctuaries should be treated sympathetically in the Forest Research Institute and other forest colleges.

Forests are traditional sources of food, of herbs, of fuel and other essentials of many unsophisticated people who have lived for generations in and off the forests. These people are now bewildered and disturbed by the shrinking of the forest area, the depletion of produce, and numerous restrictions imposed by officials. The education of the forester and his colleagues in forest sciences should cover the sociology and economics of such communities. Forestry practices should make the lives of forest dwellers, whether humans or other species, happier, not worse. These people should not be driven away from forests. Rather we should be able to take their help to preserve and work forests scientifically.

Just as it is realised that exploitation of the people must end so must we now recognise that the exploitation of nature and specially of forests

must end. We must evolve programmes by which forests cannot only coexist but be enlarged side by side with the growth of agriculture and industry and the three together should help our people to raise their standards of living.

Nuclear Weapons

One question today overshadowing all others is that of human survival. History has always been full of conflicts. The assistance of science and technology has been enlisted to make wars steadily more destructive. With the first atom bomb in 1945, the nature of warfare underwent a profound change. Today nuclear weapons are not merely weapons of war. Any major use of nuclear weapons will result in the immediate death of many hundred millions and incalculable consequences to life itself through a variety of after-effects, not all of which we can foresee. Apart from all the other horrendous effects we are told that the use of 300 megatons of nuclear weapons would cause an enormous fire-storm, whose vast quantities of soot would spread darkness over the northern and southern hemispheres, and bring about a lowering of temperature over the globe's surface, making the earth inhospitable to all known forms of life. There could also be irreversible ecological and genetic changes, whose nature and limits cannot be predicted. Should this accumulating knowledge not disturb us? Should we not feel concerned by the perversity of the theory of limited and winnable nuclear wars?

Some quarters believe that nuclear armaments can be controlled, and deployed with exact calculation of cost-effectiveness. Equally frightening is the preparation and willingness to use other deadly chemical, biological and such devices. Even more disturbing is the talk in depersonalised terms of using outer space for future wars.

This relentless search for ever increasingly barbaric weapons systems is undertaken in the name of security. India and other non-aligned countries are convinced that only general and complete disarmament can provide real and enduring security. Nuclear-weapon powers owe it to humanity to renounce the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons in any situation whatever. As a first step they should resume negotiations for disarmament and ban the production and testing of all nuclear weapons.

Disarmament

Obviously disarmament must remain high on the list of priorities of all

nations and even individuals who are anxious about the human race and our beautiful planet, of all who consider peace, security and stability indispensable to human survival and progress to higher levels.

Our goal is general and complete disarmament, a process which must necessarily begin with nuclear disarmament. At the moment the trend is in the opposite direction of expanding existing arsenals. Disarmament cannot make any progress until this process is reversed. The first need is to stop the production of nuclear weapons, then reduce and eventually eliminate them. The Non-Aligned Movement has also made some other important proposals involving, inter alia, an international convention prohibting the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, which has been endorsed by the General Assembly. However discouraging the response of those directly concerned, we cannot afford to slacken our efforts.

Peace is not merely the absence of war. It is not a passive concept, but a positive one. It is a feeling of well-being, of goodwill. I am asked if non-violence will work in today's world. Nothing ever works ideally. But the concept of non-violence can make an enormous difference. When Mahatma Gandhi practised non-violence, he did not mean just the absence of violent acts but the avoidance of violent words and even thoughts. Non-violence is neither cowardice nor resignation. On the contrary, an unarmed crusader needs far more determination, discipline and daring. Definitions of right and wrong are coloured by ideologies. In truth the only right is that which pre-eminently ensures the good of all living creatures.

Peace

The desire for peace is universal even within countries which themselves produce nuclear weapons and in those where they are deployed. The Non-Aligned Movement is history's biggest peace movement. It welcomes these spontaneous upsurges of peoples. But governments persist in propounding, practising and pursuing the self-same strategic interests, spheres of influence, balance of power, and tutelary relations reminiscent of the earlier theory of divine right.

The paradox of our age is that while weapons become increasingly sophisticated, minds remain imprisoned in ideas of simpler times. Technically, the colonial age has ended. But the wish to dominate persists. Neo-colonialism comes wrapped in all types of packages—in technology and communications, commerce and culture. It takes boldness and integrity to resist it. There are intense political and economic pressures. The limited economic viability, indeed the very survival of

many of the non-aligned, especially those with small populations, is threatened through artificial barriers in trade, technology transfer and access to resources. It should be within our ability to devise measures to help these small nations to maintain their independence and non-alignment.

Only with co-existence can there be any existence. We regard non-interference and non-intervention as basic laws of international behaviour. Yet different types of interventions, open or covert, do take place in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America. They are all intolerable and unacceptable. Interference leads to intervention and one intervention often attracts another. No single power or group of powers has the justification or moral authority to so interfere or intervene. You cannot condemn one instance but condone another. Each situation has its own origins. Whatever they be, solutions must be political and peaceful. All States must abide by the principle that force or the threat of force will not be used against the territorial integrity or political independence of another State.

Foreign Policy

India's foreign policy is a projection of the values which we have cherished through the centuries as well as our current concerns. We are not tied to the traditional concepts of a foreign policy designed to safeguard overseas possessions, investments, the carving out of spheres of influence and the erection of **cordons sanitaires.** We are not interested in exporting ideologies.

Our first concern has been to prevent any erosion of our independence. Therefore we could not be camp followers of any power, however rich or strong. We had equal interest in the maintenance and safeguarding of international peace as an essential condition of India's economic, social and political development.

Our quest has been friendship with all, submission to none. Our fight was not for ourselves alone but for all mankind. Nor was it merely for political independence in its narrow sense. We were determined to change the old order, to eradicate poverty, to emancipate society from rigid stratification, evil customs and superstition.

North-South Dialogue

In spite of Ottawa, Cancun and Versailles, the dialogue between the developed and developing has not even begun. Only a few in the North

realize that the sustained social and economic development of the South is in its own interest. Thus, we ask not for charity or philanthropy but sound economic sense. Such cooperation between North and South will be of mutual benefit.

The Non-Aligned Movement has stood firmly for a thorough-going restructuring of international economic relations. We are against exploitation. We are for each nation's right to its resources and policies. We want an equal voice in the operation of international institutions. We reiterate our commitment to the establishment of a New International Economic Order based on justice and equality. At this meeting, we should also devise a coherent programme of measures to be taken immediately to help developing countries in areas of critical importance. We should outline a strategy for follow up action in the forthcoming Sixth Session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and other major international conferences. An International Conference on Money and Finance for Development, which is not weighted in favour of the North, is an urgent need. Problems of money and finance also burden the countries of the North and have to be solved in a mutually beneficial manner. Such a conference should suggest comprehensive reforms of the international monetary and financial system which is now recognized as out-of-date, inequitable and inadequate. It should facilitate the mobilization of developmental finance for investment in vital areas such as food, energy and industrial development. A major debt restructuring exercise must be undertaken. The debt problem of developing countries has assumed an unprecedented dimension. Its servicing alone absorbs over a quarter of their total export earnings.

Long-range solutions need time and preparation. Immediate problems brook no delay.Some countries are more critically affected than others. Some are in desperate straits. They cannot wait for action by the world community as a whole. Our Movement has an obligation to them and this is not beyond the human resources, technological skills, industrial capacities, even the finances that we now possess. Self-reliance should start with the weakest amongst us and assistance be aimed at self-development.

Meanwhile technological change rushes on, giving further advantage to the already affluent. No one has the time to think whether its consequences are benign or malign. To keep up, even societies which can ill afford some of these technical products feel they must acquire them. Non-alignment may shield us from war, but science is important for us to eradicate poverty. However, at present 97 per cent of the world's research is not relevant to us because it is earmarked for the priorities and to the induced appetites of technological leaders. Science will work for our basic needs only if we direct our own scientific policies

towards these problems, especially those of the smallest and poorest amongst us. Each of our countries must strengthen its domestic base of science and technology and collectively we should devise more effecitve mechanisms for the pooling of our experiences. Earlier non-aligned gatherings have considered this subject. At this Summit let us move forward to make collective self-reliance a reality.

In the last few years some areas of co-operation have been identified. Effective co-operation in agriculture, irrigation, research in plant varieties, public health, technical training and small industries will reduce our dependence on the high-cost economies of the affluent and on business corporations which profit from us. Lack of communication is a major constriction. We just do not know enough about one another, or what we are capable of giving and receiving. Information is a vital input for development.

Our economists and scientists should study and take a holistic view of problems relating to co-operation amongst ourselves in planning, development and economic exchanges. The economic experience and theories of industrialized countries are not necessarily valid in our circumstances.

Non-Aligned Movement

The Non-Aligned Movement is not a mere or casual collection of individual States. It is a vital historical process. It is a comingling of many historical, spiritual and cultural streams. It is the expression of the aspirations of the long-deprived and the newly free. It is assertion of humankind's will to survive despite oppression, despite the growing arms race and ideological divisions. My father placed events within a broad conceptual framework. Our Movement has a framework, it has developed principles. More important, it is not dogmatic but dynamic. It is a major Movement attempting basic changes. By asserting the right of self-determination, our Movement enfranchised more than half the world which was under colonial subjection. We continue to fight for the rest. We challenge the doctrine and practice of racism. We now strive to enforce the right to economic equality. The sights of our Movement are set not merely on short-term and limited benefits but on broader principles to transform the political and economic organization of the world. Non-alignment embodies the courage and strength of self-reliance. Alignment denotes dependence. That is why something akin to the non-aligned outlook is spreading noticeably even among peoples of aligned countries.

Non-alignment is national independence and freedom. It stands for

peace and the avoidance of confrontation. It aims at keeping away from military alliances. It means equality among nations and the democratisation of international relations, economic and political. It wants global co-operation for development on the basis of mutual benefit. It is a strategy for the recognition and preservation of the world's diversity.

Humankind is balancing on the brink of the collapse of the world economic system and annihilation through nuclear war. Should these tragedies occur, can anyone of us, large, small, rich or poor, from North or South, West or East, hope to escape? Let us analyse the economic crisis. We of the developing world have no margin of safety. We shall be the first and worst sufferers in any economic breakdown. In this interdependent world, where you cannot 'stir a flower without troubling a star', even the most affluent are not immune to such disturbances.

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Ours in an unusual association. We are not brought together by power nor by the urge to exploit and profit from others. We threaten none. In fact we want to save the world from threats. We seek no domination. We shall brook no domination.

Within our own Movement all are equal. We are partners. Amongst us there are no leaders and followers. The idea of leadership has caused enough harm. The desire to dominate has been and is the root cause of the world's ills. As a great saint of our land, Guru Nanak Dev, the founder of the Sikh religion, declared almost 500 years ago "all men are born to be

free". So are all nations. But economic avarice, military might and technological advantage have enslaved many peoples. After a long night of colonial subjection came the dawn of freedom. But the shadows of the economic and technological consequences of past serfdom haunt us.

It is ironic that lands of ancient culture which were among the first to develop agriculture and industry, should today be regarded as "developing". Technologically we may be developing. Militarily we may be weak. But our spirit of independence is developed and assertive. We are indomitable in defence of our causes and in our will to be treated with equal respect and to share the gains as well as responsibilities of international affairs, political and economic.

We can achieve our objective through the discipline of unity. These aims are not for ourselves alone but for all mankind. The peace, for which we labour, is of benefit to the blocs and even those who may distrust it. Words such as weak and strong are relative. Qualities are rarely pure and are more likely to have various shades. Frailty can have its own strength and the strong can be victims of their own power. Today the affluent and mighty are no more immune to economic difficulties than we are. Their economic health will be aided by their encouraging the revival of our economies. The world is a single network. If you think of it as electrical, none can escape its fluctuations and if there is a blow-out, the darkness will shroud all.

Commonwealth

The Commonwealth brings together about a third of the member-States of the United Nations. It is a genuinely eclectic grouping of nations, comprising many races, religions and diverse geographical regions. No constitution, act or treaty limits the ambit of its concerns. It is a North-South forum, encompassing a representative range of developing countries and some of the developed. It is a also a forum where non-aligned countries meet those who belong to military alliances. It is obvious that we cannot agree on all matters, yet we try to find some common ground. To be a living organism, the Commonwealth must be flexible and responsive to changing situations. As the world evolves, so should the Commonwealth.

As a forum which includes the industrialized and developing, the Commonwealth must support and facilitate such discussions. Our basic approach should be to promote consultation and discussion between all nations, and to find a harmonious way of changing the world economic system and institutions. There may be differences on what is to be changed and how. None of us can afford to remain frozen in our postures.

The Commonwealth can be a pathfinder. It should not content itself with echoing views and conclusions which come out of other forums. In many matters it can give a lead. The expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth, for instance, was a notable step in the world-wide battle against racism.

The Commonwealth can serve a useful function if it adheres to the policy of peaceful co-existence and cooperation. The industrialized nations may be fewer in number but militarily and economically they are incomparably stronger. If they disregard the needs of the developing countries, which we consider are relevant to resolving the problems even of the affluent, there is bound to be conflict. Hence the necessity of looking constantly for areas of agreement rather than of differences, and of trying to enlarge them. Disruptive forces are at work. Growing disparities between nations, increasing tensions and fear of war have cast a gloom on our world. A multi-racial Commonwealth, composed of developed and developing nations, is in a unique position to serve the cause of peace and progress by giving its support to a policy of conciliation and co-operation.

New Economic Order

The present world economic order is based on domination and inequality. The basic aim of the programmes of action drawn up in New Delhi was to strengthen the economies of weak nations. We outlined a mechanism to pool our own technological resources, a South-South dialogue as a supplement to the North-South one. We also indicated some immediate measures the most important of which was the convening of a Conference on Money and Finance for Development. To help developing countries is not mere largesse. It will directly benefit the industrialized because development in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the enlargement of their incomes by removing obstacles to their export, will absorb industrial goods and machinery from advanced countries, stimulate economic activity, and ease their unemployment problem. What better investment can the North make in its own future than by turning today's deprived of the South into tomorrow's consumers?

Existing international institutions and those who have headed them have done valuable work but these bodies are not wholly representative, nor do they reflect the changes that have occurred in the international economy. No country or set of countries is without dilemmas. The affluent ones which follow market economies have problems of production, unemployment and currency instability. Industrialized

countries with planned economies, who do not formally belong to the international monetary system, but participate in the global activities of commerce and technological exchanges, also face problems of production and renovation. The developing countries are caught between the inadequacies of internal and external resources. All these are parts of one global crisis. There is no way out except through dialogue among us all. Each country, however powerful, has more to gain by accommodation and cooperation than by withdrawal into individual isolation or adoption of policies to maintain the solidarity of the strong. That is why we advocate a New International Economic Order based on equality and justice. Unfortunately, over the past three years, the procedural hurdles to the launching of global negotiations have not been overcome.

Global Economic Cooperation

Together, developing countries command vast markets. They have a large reservoir of human resources, technical skills and manufacturing capacities, and now some of them even have substantial financial resources to reduce their dependence on external aid which certain groups in affluent countries regard as charity.

I should like to underline some points which would make international cooperation more efficacious:

(a) Agreement on the immediate launching of global negotiations.
(b) Increased food production in developing countries.
(c) Reversal of the present disturbing trend in the flow of assistance, particularly concessional assistance, from developed to developing countries.
(d) Strenghtening multilateral cooperaion.
(e) Devising mechanisms to finance the development of energy resources in developing countries.
(f) Speedy adoption and implementation of schemes, including regional arrangements to lighten the financial burden of increased oil prices and to ensure supplies of oil to developing countries.
(g) Provision of financial support for balance of payments problems in the transitional stage of oil importing developing countries.
(h) Reversing protectionist trends.

and above all,

(i) Development of the solidarity and collective self-reliance of developing countries to reduce their vulnerability to pressures from and events in affluent countries.

Friendship Between Nations

We aim at self-reliance, so it is befitting that 90 per cent of the resources needed for this gigantic endeavour of modernising the country have come from our own people, impoverished though they are thought to be. But the remaining 10 per cent or so is important, for that represents the inflow of modern technology. In this we have been helped by the United States, by countries of Western and Eastern Europe and several international institutions. We particularly appreciate American technical assistance. In consonance with our independent stand we take cooperation in sciences, trade or defence requirements, from wherever it suits our national interest.

If India were considered in economic or military terms it would not count. Yet, our voice is heard, because in spite of our poverty, economic backwardness, and often looking beyond our immediate interests, we have fearlessly spoken up for the rights of the under-privileged and the threatened, and have championed the cause of peace and freedom. We have always viewed our problems in the much larger perspective of global problems. Our foreign policy is one of friendship for all, hence our non-alignment. We are against the involvement of foreign troops or any other interference in the internal affairs of other countries. We believe in negotiations rather than the use of arms in settling disputes. India is a large area of stability in South Asia. Undoubtedly, its strengthening will help to stabilize and strengthen the entire region.

It is good that meetings between Heads of State and Government, individually and at conferences, are taking place more often. They do take us away from urgent tasks at home but national and international problems are increasingly interlinked. Cancun dealt with various global issues, Versailles with economic and other problems of the North, touching also on North-South questions. At the New Delhi meeting of developing countries, the focus was on cooperation between themselves. On earlier occasions, I have pointed out that the future of advanced and developing countries is so closely intertwined that cooperation would benefit both. This is not merely a question of social justice and equity. My own view is that developing countries can contribute significantly to the emerging world economic order. Theirs are the potentially large markets, which would help developed countries like the United States to maintain higher profitability on their investment, higher rates of growth, and to generate more employment.

To our minds, there are three main causes of the present disturbing situation—the growth of armaments, the increasing disparity between the rich and the poor, both between and within nations, and the thoughtless wounding of our earth.

The world is one, yet we treat it as many, giving different names to the segments. As they are politically used, the words East and West, North and South, are not even geographically apt.

More than 3000 years ago, when the world was greener, the sages of my country wrote an 'Ode to the Earth'. It is so pertinent today that I should like to share some lines with you:

"Do not push me from the West or from the East
   or from the North or the South.
Be gracious to us, O Earth. Let not those find us
   who waylay people on the road.
Take deadly weapons far away from us".



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